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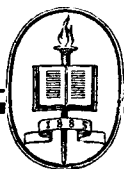
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The AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

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January, 1943

“What Then Is the American, This New Man?”¹

THIS question, posed in the last years of the Revolution by a Frenchman long resident in America, has never ceased to be of challenging interest. It lies at the heart of every inquiry into the national past and of every attempt to understand the present or peer into the future. It concerns specialists in economics, political science, and sociology no less than historians; students of religion, literature, and the arts no less than social scientists; statesmen no less than scholars. If we can once learn why the American has come to be as he is, what his instinctive reactions are to life, how he differs from the people of other lands, we shall have gained a deep insight into the springs of national thought and action.

Crèvecoeur's own answer to his question can still be read with profit.² He was, of course, one of a long procession of Europeans who have tried to

¹ Presidential address prepared for the Columbus meeting but delivered on the evening of the annual business meeting in Washington, December 30, 1942.

² J. Hector St. John [de Crèvecoeur], *Letters from an American Farmer* (new ed., London, 1783), especially pp. 51-53.

describe and appraise the American character. Their writings, though of varying merit, possess the common advantage of presenting an outsider's point of view, free from the predilections and prepossessions which blur the American's vision of himself. Viewing the scene from a different background, they are also sensitive to national divergences of which most Americans are unaware. Though bias may influence the individual observer's judgment, the total number of visitors has been so great as to render far more significant their points of agreement.

The composite portrait that emerges deserves our thoughtful consideration. The attributes most frequently noted are a belief in the universal obligation to work; the urge to move about; a high standard of comfort for the average man; faith in progress; the eternal pursuit of material gain; an absence of permanent class barriers; the neglect of abstract thinking and of the aesthetic side of life; boastfulness; a deference for women; the blight of spoiled children; the general restlessness and hurry of life, always illustrated by the practice of fast eating; and certain miscellaneous traits such as overheated houses, the habit of spitting, and the passion for rocking chairs and ice water.

This inventory, so far as it goes, reveals qualities and attitudes recognizably American. Moreover, the travelers express no doubt as to the existence of a distinctive national character. Americans looking at their fellow countrymen readily identify them as New Englanders or Middle Westerners or Southerners, as products of old native stock or newcomers of immigrant origin, and they remember that at one period of their history the differences between Northerner and Southerner sharpened into a sword, causing a tragic civil war. But the detached observer from Europe has always been less impressed by these variations than by the evidences of fundamental kinship, even in slavery times. James Bryce, most perspicacious of the commentators, goes so far as to say: "Scotchmen and Irishmen are more unlike Englishmen, the native of Normandy more unlike the native of Provence, the Pomeranian more unlike the Wurtemberger, the Piedmontese more unlike the Neapolitan, the Basque more unlike the Andalusian, than the American from any part of the country is to the American from any other part." His conclusion is that "it is rather more difficult to take any assemblage of attributes in any of these European countries and call it the national type than it is to do the like in the United States."³ The preoccupation of American historians with local and sectional diversities has tended to obscure this underlying reality.

³ Bryce, *The American Commonwealth* (London, 1888), III, 628. Alexis de Tocqueville expressed a similar view some fifty years before in *Democracy in America* (Henry Reeve, trans., Francis Bowen, ed., Cambridge, 1862), I, 215, 505.

But the particular assemblage of attributes recorded by the travelers leaves much to be desired. Not only is the list incomplete, but it fails to distinguish the significant from the trivial. Since the typical European covered as much ground as possible in a limited stay, his attention was caught by externals. Annoying mannerisms assumed undue importance, as dust in the eye of a wayfarer keeps him from perceiving the main features of the landscape. Thus the gospel of work is hardly to be equated with the addiction to spitting. Some visitors actually prided themselves upon learning much from seeing little.⁴ More thoughtful ones sought to correlate what they observed with the avowed ideals of the people, such as equality, individualism, and democracy; but except in a few conspicuous instances they lacked sufficient knowledge of the profounder trends in American society to understand either the true inwardness of the ideals or how they manifested themselves in action. Finally, the traveler gave little attention to the crucial problem of why the special combination of traits and attitudes had become endemic within the borders of the United States.

Hence the judgment of these onlookers, though often clear-sighted and frequently valuable as a corrective, leaves ample room for the student of United States history to venture an answer to Crèvecoeur's question. If the native-born historian be suspect as a party in interest, he may at least strive to observe that counsel of objectivity which his professional conscience reveres. What, then, is the American from the historian's point of view—or at least from one historian's point of view? The answer, briefly expressed, is so simple as to be a truism. This "new man" is the product of the interplay of his Old World heritage and New World conditions. Real understanding dawns only when the nature of these two factors is properly assessed.

The Old World heritage consisted merely of that part of European culture which the people who settled America had shared. The great bulk of the colonists, like the immigrants of later times, belonged to the poorer classes. Whether in England or on the Continent, they and their ancestors had been

⁴ Count Hermann Keyserling in his widely read volume *America Set Free* (New York, 1929), p. 5, boasts: "During my travels about the country, I guarded myself with almost old-maidish precaution against information. I looked at none of the obvious sights if I could help it; I asked few questions. . . . I went out little; I read hardly any papers." By this procedure he believed he utilized his four months' visit (which he regarded as needlessly long) for maintaining "contact almost exclusively with the subconscious side of American life." This may explain why he found "a good deal of truth" in Dr. Carl G. Jung's psychograph of the American as "a European with the manners of a negro and the soul of an Indian" (pp. 34, 36). Crèvecoeur, on the other hand, published his book after more than twenty years' residence in America, and Bryce wrote his masterly commentary following a succession of leisurely sojourns. "When I first visited America eighteen years ago," he says in *The American Commonwealth*, I, 5-6, "I brought home a swarm of bold generalizations. Half of them were thrown overboard after a second visit in 1881. Of the half that remained, some were dropped into the Atlantic when I returned across it after a third visit in 1883-84: and although the two later journeys gave birth to some new views, these views are fewer and more discreetly cautious than their departed sisters of 1870."

artisans, small tradesmen, farmers, day laborers—the firm foundation upon which rested the superstructure of European cultivation. Shut out from a life of wealth, leisure, and aesthetic enjoyment, they had tended to regard the ways of their social superiors with misgiving, if not resentment, and, by the same token, they magnified the virtues of sobriety, diligence, and thrift that characterized their own order. Even when many of them, notably in England, improved their economic position as a result of the great growth of commerce and industry in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, they continued to exalt the ancient proprieties. This attitude found its classic spiritual expression in Calvinism. As Professor Tawney has said, Calvinism was “perhaps the first systematic body of religious teaching which can be said to recognize and applaud the economic virtues.”⁵ It neatly fitted the glove of divine sanction to the hand of prudential conduct, thus giving a sense of personal rectitude to the business of getting ahead in the world. But whether in Britain or elsewhere, whether in the religious groups directly affected or those more remotely influenced, Calvinism merely intensified a pre-existing bent. It is similarly true that the stringent code of morals often attributed to Calvinism, and more particularly to Puritanism, represented a lower-middle-class mentality long antedating the Geneva teachings.

This, then, was the type of human breed upon which the untamed New World exerted its will. It has often been observed that the plants and animals of foreign lands undergo change when removed to America. These mutations arise from differences in climate and geography. But other influences also affected the transplanted European man. One was the temperament of the settler, the fact that he was more adventurous, or more ambitious, or more rebellious against conditions at home than his fellows who stayed put. It is not necessary to believe with William Stoughton that “God sifted a whole Nation that he might send Choice Grain over into this Wilderness,”⁶ but undoubtedly the act of quitting a familiar life for a strange and perilous one demanded uncommon qualities of hardihood, self-reliance, and imagination. Once the ocean was crossed, sheer distance and the impact of novel experiences further weakened the bonds of custom, evoked unsuspected capacities, and awakened the settler to possibilities of improvement which his forebears had never known.

The conditions offered by an undeveloped continent fixed the frame within which the new life must be lived, the mold within which the American character took form. Farming was the primary occupation. At first resorted to by the settlers to keep from starvation, it quickly became the mainstay of

⁵ R. H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* (New York, 1926), p. 105.

⁶ Stoughton, *New-Englands True Interest* (Cambridge, 1670), p. 19.

their existence. The Revolution was fought by a people of whom nineteen out of twenty were farmers. With good soil easily obtainable for over a century more, agriculture continued, though with gradually diminishing effect, to provide the pervasive atmosphere of American life and thought. "The vast majority of the people of this country live by the land, and carry its quality in their manners and opinions," wrote Emerson in 1844.⁷ Even when the hosts from Continental Europe began to swell the population in the nineteenth century, the rural temper of the nation continued unaltered, for most of the immigrants also turned to farming. This long apprenticeship to the soil made an indelible impress on the developing American character, with results which the modern age of the city has not wholly effaced.

The agriculture of the New World, however, differed from the agriculture of the Old. This was the initial lesson which the colonial newcomers were compelled to learn. Those who had been bred to husbandry in their homelands found many of the traditional methods unsuitable. Those who had worked at urban occupations suffered from an even greater handicap. Densely forested land must be cleared, the wildness taken out of the soil, a knowledge gained of indigenous plants and of the best means of growing them. The settlers of Jamestown were barely able to struggle through the early years. "There were never Englishmen left in a forreigne Country in such miserie as wee were in this new discovered Virginia," wrote one of them.⁸ "Unsufferable hunger" caused them to eat horses, dogs, rats, and snakes, and instances even of cannibalism are recorded.⁹ As is well known, the Plymouth colonists experienced similar trials. Yet in both cases the woods abounded with native fruits, berries, roots, and nuts; wild game was plentiful; and the near-by waters teemed with fish.

Had these Englishmen been more readily adaptable, they could have enjoyed a gastronomic abundance beyond the reach of even the nobility at home. But reversion to a stage of civilization which the white man had long since outgrown was not easy. At the very first, all the early settlements actually imported food supplies. The Swedish colony on the Delaware did so for twenty years. A knowledge of self-sufficient farming came slowly and painfully, with untold numbers of men, women, and children perishing in the process. In the long run, however, the settlers learned to master their environment. Utilizing native crops and Indian methods of tillage, they

⁷ Ralph Waldo Emerson, "The Young American," *Works* (Boston, 1883), I, 349.

⁸ George Percy, "Discourse of the Plantation of the Southern Colony in Virginia," abridged in Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrimes* (Glasgow, 1905-07), XVIII, 418.

⁹ "A Briefe Declaration of the Plantation of Virginia duringe the First Twelve Yeares. . . . By the Ancient Planters nowe Remaining Alive in Virginia," Thomas H. Wynne and W. S. Gilman, eds., *Colonial Records of Virginia* (Richmond, 1874), p. 71.

abandoned the intensive cultivation required by the limited land resources of the Old World. It was simpler to move on to new fields when the fertility of the old was exhausted. The typical farm was a small one, worked by the owner and his family. Even when the system of staple production emerged in the South, the small independent farmers considerably outnumbered the great slaveholding planters.

Though the colonial agriculturist owed much to the Indians, his European heritage restrained him from imitating them more than he must. Unlike the aborigines, he thirsted for the simple mechanical aids and other amenities which he and his kind had enjoyed in the Old World, and, lacking other means, he proceeded as best he could to reproduce them for himself. Besides wrestling with the soil, every husbandman was a manufacturer and every home a factory, engaged in grinding grain, making soap and candles, preparing the family meat supply, tanning skins, fabricating nails, harness, hats, shoes, and rugs, contriving tools, churns, casks, beds, chairs, and tables. Occasionally he did some of these things for his neighbors for hire. Such activities were supplemented by hunting, trapping, and fishing. As cold weather closed in, the men used their spare time in getting out rough timber products, such as shingles and planks, or spent the long winter evenings before the open fireplace carving gunstocks or making brooms while the womenfolk knitted, spun, or wove.

Under the pressure of circumstances the farmer became a Jack-of-all-trades. As Chancellor Livingston later wrote, "being habituated from early life to rely upon himself he acquires a skill in every branch of his profession, which is unknown in countries where labour is more divided."¹⁰ Take the case of an undistinguished New Englander, John Marshall of Braintree, early in the eighteenth century. Besides tending his farm, he was painter, brick-maker, and carpenter, turned out as many as three hundred laths in a day, bought and sold hogs, and served as a precinct constable.¹¹ The primitive state of society fostered a similar omnicompetence in other walks of life, as the career of Benjamin Franklin so well exemplifies. Lord Cornbury, the governor of New York, characterized Francis Makemie as "a Preacher, a Doctor of Physick, a Merchant, an Attorney, or Counsellor at Law, and," he added for good measure, "which is worse of all, a Disturber of Governments."¹²

¹⁰ Robert R. Livingston's remarks on American agriculture in *Edinburgh Encyclopaedia* (1st Am. ed., Philadelphia, 1832), I, 338.

¹¹ Charles Francis Adams, jr., "John Marshall's Diary," *Massachusetts Historical Society, Proceedings*, 2d ser., I (1885), 148-64.

¹² Hugh Hastings, comp., *Ecclesiastical Records, State of New York* (Albany, 1901-05), III, 1670.

The pioneer farmer of later times was the colonial farmer reborn. Up and down the Mississippi Valley he faced the same difficulties and the same opportunities as his forefathers, and he dealt with them in much the same way. As time went on, he managed to secure from independent craftsmen and factories certain of his tools and household conveniences; he took advantage of newly invented laborsaving appliances, such as the iron plow and the reaper; and more and more he raised crops for sale in a general market. Along the Atlantic seaboard similar alterations occurred. But whether in the older or the newer communities, these innovations affected the surface rather than the substance of the traditional way of life. Nor did the advent of towns and cities at first do much to change the situation. Mere islands in a sea of population, they long retained marked rural characteristics and depended for a large part of their growth on continued accessions from the countryside.

What qualities of the national character are attributable to this long-persistent agrarian setting? First and foremost is the habit of work. For the colonial farmer ceaseless exertion was the price of survival. Every member of the community must be up and doing. If a contrary spirit showed itself, the authorities, whether Anglican, Puritan, or of a different faith, laid a heavy hand upon the culprit. The Virginia Assembly in 1619 ordered slothful individuals to be bound over to compulsory labor.¹³ A few years later the Massachusetts Bay Company instructed Governor John Endecott that "noe idle drone bee permitted to live amongst us . . .," and the General Court followed this up in 1633 with a decree that "noe prson, howse houlder or oth", shall spend his time idly or unprofitably, under paine of such punishm^t as the Court shall thinke meete to inflicte. . . ." ¹⁴ Such regulations had long existed in England, where it was hoped, vainly, that they might combat the unemployment and vagrancy of a surplus laboring class; in America their purpose was to overcome a labor shortage, that exigent problem of every new country. Of course, the vast bulk of settlers, inured to toil in the homeland, required no official prodding. They were the hardest-working people on earth, their only respite being afforded by strict observance of the Sabbath as required by both church and state.

The tradition of toil so begun found new sustenance as settlers opened up the boundless stretches of the interior country. "In the free States," wrote Harriet Martineau in 1837, "labour is more really and heartily honoured than, perhaps, in any other part of the civilised world."¹⁵ Henry Ward Beecher

¹³ "The Proceedings of the First Assembly of Virginia," Wynne and Gilman, eds., *Colonial Records*, p. 20.

¹⁴ Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, ed., *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England* (Boston, 1853-54), I, 405, 109.

¹⁵ Martineau, *Society in America* (New York, 1837), II, 99.

voiced the general opinion of his countrymen when he asserted a few years later, "It would be endless to describe the wiles of idleness—how it creeps upon men, how secretly it mingles with their pursuits, how much time it purloins. . . . It steals minutes, it clips off the edges of hours, and at length takes possession of days."¹⁶ Even when the usual motives for working did not exist, the social compulsion remained. As William Ellery Channing put it, "The rich man has no more right to repose than the poor," for no man should so live as to "throw all toil on another class of society."¹⁷ One source of Northern antagonism to the system of human bondage was the fear that it was jeopardizing this basic tenet of the American creed. "Wherever labor is mainly performed by slaves," Daniel Webster told his fellow members of the Senate, "it is regarded as degrading to freemen"; and the Kentucky abolitionist David Rice pointed out that in the South "To labour, is to *slave*; to work, is to *work like a Negroe*. . . ."¹⁸ After the Civil War, General W. T. Sherman found public occasion to thank God that the overthrow of involuntary servitude enabled the Southern whites at last "to earn an honest living."¹⁹

Probably no legacy from our farmer forebears has entered more deeply into the national psychology. If an American has no purposeful work on hand, the fever in his blood impels him nevertheless to some form of visible activity. When seated he keeps moving in a rocking chair. A European visitor in the 1890's found more fact than fiction in a magazine caricature which pictured a foreigner as saying to his American hostess, "It's a defect in your country, that you have no leisured classes." "But we have them," she replied, "only we call them tramps." The traveler's own comment was: "America is the only country in the world, where one is ashamed of having nothing to do."²⁰

This worship of work has rendered it difficult for Americans to learn how to play. As Poor Richard saw it, "Leisure is the Time for doing something useful"; and James Russell Lowell confessed,

¹⁶ Beecher, *Lectures to Young Men, on Various Important Subjects* (2d ed., Boston, 1846), p. 23.

¹⁷ Quoted in William H. Channing, *The Life of William Ellery Channing, D. D.* (Boston, 1880), p. 510, from a letter written in 1839.

¹⁸ Webster, *Works* (Boston, 1851), V, 310; Rice, *Slavery Inconsistent with Justice and Good Policy* (Philadelphia, 1792), p. 11.

¹⁹ Society of the Army of the Tennessee, *Report of Proceedings at the Fifteenth Annual Meeting, 1882* (n.p., n.d.), p. 369.

²⁰ Serge Wolkonsky, *My Reminiscences* (Alfred E. Chamot, trans., London, n.d.), p. 219. "In England a man who does nothing goes by the name of 'gentleman'; in Chicago he goes by the names of 'loafer'," wrote Paul Blouët (Max O'Rell, *pseud.*) and Jack Allyn in *Jonathan and His Continent* (Madame Paul Blouët, trans., New York, 1889), p. 237. In a speech at Milwaukee in 1910 Theodore Roosevelt expressed this sentiment in the American way: "I pity the creature who doesn't work—at whichever end of the social scale he may be." Henry L. Stoddard, *It Costs to Be President* (New York, 1938), p. 164.

Pleasure doos make us Yankees kind o' winch,
Ez though 't wuz sunthin' paid for by the inch;
But yit we du contrive to worry thru,
Ef Dooty tells us thet the thing's to du. . . .²¹

The first deviations from the daily grind took the form of hunting, fishing, barn-raising, and logrollings—activities that contributed directly to the basic needs of living. As the years went on, the great Southern planters developed rural diversions into a sort of ritual, but their example, like that of the fashionable circles in the cities, made the common man all the more self-conscious when he sought recreation. Nor did the spontaneous gaiety that marked the idle hours of the Germans and Irish who came in the mid-nineteenth century have any other effect than to reinforce suspicions of them formed on other scores. "The American," wrote a New Yorker of his compatriots in 1857, "enters into festivity as if it were a serious business. . . ." ²² And a serious business it has continued to be ever since. Into it goes all the fierce energy that once felled the forests and broke the prairies. We play games not for their own sake but in order to win them. We attend social gatherings grimly determined to have a "good time." Maxim Gorky said of Coney Island, "What an unhappy people it must be that turns for happiness here." ²³ The "rich gift of extemporizing pleasures," of enjoying leisure leisurely, has, for the most part, been denied us. ²⁴ It is significant that the English *Who's Who* lists hobbies while the American still excludes them.

The importance attached to useful work had the further effect of helping to render "this new man" indifferent to aesthetic considerations. To the farmer a tree was not a symbol of Nature's unity but an obstacle to be reduced to a stump and then quickly replaced with a patch of corn or vegetables. In the words of an eighteenth century American, "The Plow-man that raiseth Grain is more serviceable to Mankind, than the Painter who draws only to please the Eye. The Carpenter who builds a good House to defend us from the Wind and Weather, is more serviceable than the curious Carver, who employs his Art to please the Fancy." ²⁵ The cult of beauty, in other words, had nothing to contribute to the stern business of living; it wasn't "practical." The bias thus given to the national mentality lasted well into America's urban age. One result has been the architectural monotony and ugliness which

²¹ Lowell, *The Biglow Papers* (1846) in his *Works* (Boston, 1890-92), VIII, 331.

²² [H. T. Tuckerman], "Holidays," *North American Review*, LXXXIV (1857), 347.

²³ Quoted in Irwin Edman, "On American Leisure," *Harper's Magazine*, CLVI (1928), 220.

²⁴ The quoted phrase is from Adam G. de Gurowski, *America and Europe* (New York, 1857), p. 378.

²⁵ From a pamphlet of 1719 quoted in James Truslow Adams, *Provincial Society, 1690-1763* (New York, 1927), pp. 141-42.

have invariably offended travelers accustomed to the picturesque charm of Old World cities.

On the other hand, the complicated nature of the farmer's job, especially during the first two and a half centuries, provided an unexcelled training in mechanical ingenuity. These ex-Europeans and their descendants became a race of whittlers and tinkers, daily engaged in devising, improving, and repairing tools and other things until, as Emerson said, they had "the power and habit of invention in their brain."²⁶ "Would any one but an American," asked one of Emerson's contemporaries, "have ever invented a milking machine? or a machine to beat eggs? or machines to black boots, scour knives, pare apples, and do a hundred things that all other peoples have done with their ten fingers from time immemorial?"²⁷ As population increased and manufacturing developed on a commercial scale, men merely turned to new purposes the skills and aptitudes that had become second nature to them. Thus Eli Whitney, who as a Massachusetts farm youth had made nails and hatpins for sale to his neighbors, later contrived the cotton gin and successfully applied the principle of interchangeable parts to the making of muskets; and Theodore T. Woodruff, a New York farm boy, won subsequent fame as the inventor of a sleeping car, a coffee-hulling machine, and a steam plow. In this manner another trait became imbedded in the American character.

The farmer's success in coping with his multitudinous tasks aroused a pride of accomplishment that made him scorn the specialist or expert. As a Jack-of-all-trades he was content to be master of none, choosing to do many things well enough rather than anything supremely well. Thus versatility became an outstanding American attribute. In public affairs the common man agreed with President Jackson that any intelligent person could discharge the duties of any governmental office. He had an abiding suspicion of the theorist or the "scholar in politics," preferring to trust his own quick perceptions and to deal from day to day with matters as they arose. In his breadwinning pursuits the American flitted freely from job to job in marked contrast to the European custom of following permanent occupations which often descended from father to son. The most casual scrutiny of the *Dictionary of American Biography* discloses countless instances reminiscent of John Marshall and Francis Makemie in colonial times. Thomas Buchanan Read, born on a Pennsylvania farm, was in turn a tailor's apprentice, grocer's assistant, cigar maker, tombstone carver, sign painter, and actor before he became a portrait painter, novelist, poet, and Civil War officer. Another

²⁶ Emerson, "Resources," *Works*, VIII, 137.

²⁷ Thomas L. Nichols, *Forty Years of American Life, 1821-1861* (New York, 1937, first published in 1864), p. 63.

personage is listed as "ornithologist and wholesale druggist"; another as "preacher, railway president, author"; and still another as "physician, merchant, political leader, magazine editor, poet, and critic." The wonder is that, despite such a squandering of energies, they could yet gain sufficient distinction in any phase of their activities to be recalled by posterity.

Even in his principal occupation of growing food, the farmer encountered harsh criticism from foreign visitors because of his practice of wearing out the land, his neglect of livestock, and his destruction of forest resources. But Old World agriculture was based on a ratio of man to land which in the New World was reversed. It was as natural for the American farmer to "mine the soil" and pass on to a virgin tract as it was for the European peasant to husband his few acres in the interest of generations unborn. Not till the opening years of the twentieth century, when the pressure of population dramatized the evils of past misuse, did the conservation of physical resources become a deliberate national policy.

Meanwhile the tradition of wasteful living, fostered by an environment of abundance, had fastened itself on the American character, disposing men to condone extravagance in public as well as in private life. Even official corruption could be winked at on the ground that a wealthy country such as the United States could afford it. In their personal lives Americans were improvident of riches that another people would have saved or frugally used. One recent arrival from England in the early nineteenth century wrote that the apples and peaches rotting in Ohio orchards were more "than would sink the British fleet." Another immigrant said of her adopted countrymen that she wished "the poor people in England had the leavings of their tables, that goes to their dogs and hogs."²⁸ A national crisis like the present reveals the ravages of this proclivity. By a sudden inversion of time-honored values the salvaging of kitchen fats, waste paper, abandoned tools, and other discarded materials has become a mark of patriotism.

Toward women the American male early acquired an attitude which sharply distinguished him from his brother in the Old World. As in every new country, women had a high scarcity value, both in the colonies and later in the settling West. They were in demand not only for reasons of affection but also because of their economic importance, for they performed the endless work about the house and helped with the heavy farm labor. "The cry is everywhere for girls; girls, and more girls!" wrote a traveler in 1866. He noted

²⁸ Quoted in Marcus L. Hansen, *The Atlantic Migration, 1607-1860* (Cambridge, 1940), pp. 157-58. The *Short Guide to Great Britain*, prepared by the War Department for the American soldiers now in England, cautions them that the British "won't think any better of you for throwing money around; they are more likely to feel that you haven't learned the common-sense virtues of thrift" (p. 4).

that men outnumbered women in thirty-eight of the forty-five states and territories. In California the ratio was three to one; in Colorado, twenty to one.²⁹ "Guess my husband's got to look after me, and make himself agreeable to me, if he can," a pretty Western girl remarked—"if he don't, there's plenty will."³⁰ In the circumstances men paid women a deference and accorded them a status unknown in older societies. European observers attributed the high standard of sex morals largely to this fact, and it is significant that the most rapid strides toward equal suffrage took place in those commonwealths where the conditions of rural life had lingered longest.

Since the agriculturist regarded his farm only as a temporary abode, an investment rather than a home, he soon contracted the habit of being "permanently transitory."³¹ Distances that would have daunted the stoutest-hearted European deterred "this new man" not at all. Many an Atlantic Coast family migrated from place to place across the continent until the second or third generation reached the rim of the Pacific and the next one began the journey back. "In no State of the Union," wrote James Bryce in 1888, "is the bulk of the population so fixed in its residence as everywhere in Europe; in many it is almost nomadic."³² But for this constant mingling of people and ideas the spirit of sectionalism would have opened far deeper fissures in American society than it did, for the breadth of the land, the regional diversification of economic interests, and the concentration of European immigrants in certain areas were all factors conducive to separatism and disunity. Instead of one great civil war there might have been many. Apart from the crisis of 1860, however, it has always been possible to adjust sectional differences peaceably. The war between North and South might itself have been avoided if the slave-centered plantation system of agriculture had not increasingly stopped the inflow of persons from other parts of the country as well as from Europe. Denied such infusions of new blood, the Southerners lived more and more to themselves, came to value their peculiarities above the traits they shared with their fellow countrymen, and, in the end, resolved to strike for an independent existence.

As the country grew older and its institutions assumed a more settled aspect, the locomotive tendencies of the Americans showed no signs of abatement. The wanderlust had entered their blood stream. According to a study of population redistribution in 1936, "over the last few decades mobility has

²⁹ William H. Dixon, *New America* (9th ed., London, [1869]), pp. 233-35.

³⁰ Dixon, *White Conquest* (London, 1876), I, 166.

³¹ Van Wyck Brooks's phrase in *Opinions of Oliver Allston* (New York, 1941), p. 84.

³² Bryce, III, 59.

been increasing rather than decreasing."³³ The Department of Agriculture reports that the average farm family remains on the same farm for only five or six years and that nearly half the children ultimately go to the towns and cities.³⁴ Urban dwellers take flight with equal facility. On the principle of the man biting the dog, the *New York Times*, June 14, 1942, reported that a resident of the California town of Sebastapol had lived in the same house for fifty years, although it admitted he was the only one of eleven children who had not gone to other parts. With the advent of the cheap automobile and the passion for long-distance touring, the rippling movement of humanity came to resemble the waves of the ocean. In 1940 the American people owned more motorcars than bathtubs. The pursuit of happiness was transformed into the happiness of pursuit. Foreigners had earlier expressed amazement at the spectacle of dwellings being hauled by horses along the streets from one site to another, but by means of the automobile trailer more than half a million Americans have now discovered a way of living constantly on wheels. The nation appears to be on the point of solving the riddle of perpetual motion.

Geographic or horizontal mobility was the concomitant of a still more fundamental aspect of American life: social or vertical mobility. The European notion of a graded society in which each class everlastingly performed its allotted function vanished quickly amidst primitive surroundings that invited the humblest persons to move upward as well as outward. Instead of everybody being nobody, they found that everybody might become somebody. In the language of James Russell Lowell, "Here, on the edge of the forest, where civilized man was brought face to face again with nature and taught mainly to rely on himself, mere manhood became a fact of prime importance." This emancipation from hoary custom was "no bantling of theory, no fruit of forethought," but "a gift of the sky and of the forest."³⁵ In this manner there arose the ingrained belief in equality of opportunity, the right of every man to a free and fair start—a view which in one of its most significant ramifications led to the establishment of free tax-supported schools. This belief was far from being a dogma of enforced equality. The feeling of the American was "I'm as good as you are" rather than "I'm no better than anyone else." To benefit from equality of opportunity a man must be equal to his opportunities. The government existed principally as an umpire to

³³ Carter Goodrich and others, *Migration and Economic Opportunity* (Philadelphia, 1936), p. 503.

³⁴ Henry A. Wallace, "National Security and the Farm," *Atlantic Monthly*, CLX (1937), 288, 289.

³⁵ Lowell, "The Independent in Politics," *Works*, VI, 205, 206.

supervise the game with a minimum of rules. The upshot was a conception of democracy rigorously qualified by individualism.

This individualistic bias sometimes assumed forms that defied vested authority. The colonists in their relations with the mother country evaded unwelcome governmental regulations and, assisted by their theologians and lawyers, made the most of the doctrine that acts of parliament contrary to their "unalienable rights" were void. Within the colonies those who dwelt remote from the centers of law enforcement adopted a similar attitude toward the provincial governments. The Scotch-Irish who squatted on vacant Pennsylvania lands in the early eighteenth century justified their illegal conduct on the score that "it was against the laws of God and nature, that so much land should be idle while so many Christians wanted it to labor on and to raise their bread."³⁶ The Massachusetts farmers who followed Daniel Shays later in the century were moved by a similar spirit. As a substitute for constituted authority, the settlers oftentimes set up their own unofficial tribunals, which adjudicated land titles and punished offenders against the public peace. In other instances they resorted to the swifter retribution of individual gunplay or of mob action and lynch law. To use a familiar American expression, they "took the law in their own hands," thus fostering a habit of violence which survived the circumstances that produced it and has continued to condition the national mentality to the present time.

As a result, Americans tend to act on the principle that men should be equal in breaking the law as well as in making it, that they should enjoy freedom *from* government as well as freedom *under* government. Thoreau, the great philosopher of individualism, knew of no reason why a citizen should "ever for a moment, or in the least degree, resign his conscience to the legislator." He declared, "I think that we should be men first, and subjects afterward."³⁷ A similar conviction undoubtedly inspired William H. Seward's flaming declaration to the proslavery senators in 1850 that "there is a higher law than the Constitution . . .,"³⁸ just as it actuated the thousands of churchgoing Northerners who secretly banded together to defeat the Fugitive Slave Act. But generally it has been self-interest or convenience, rather than conscience, that has provided the incentive to law defiance, as in the case of the businessman chafing against legislative restrictions or of the motorist unwilling to obey the traffic regulations. Sometimes this attitude has paraded under such high-sounding names as states' rights and nullification. This lawless streak in the American character has often been directed to wrong pur-

³⁶ Charles A. Hanna, *The Scotch-Irish* (New York, 1902), II, 63.

³⁷ Henry D. Thoreau, "Civil Disobedience," *Writings* (Walden ed., Boston, 1906), IV, 358.

³⁸ Seward, *Works* (George E. Baker, ed., New York, 1853-84), I, 74.

poses, but it has also served as a check on the abuse of governmental powers and as a safeguard of popular rights.

In still another aspect the individualism of the pioneer farmer accounts for the intense cultivation of the acquisitive spirit. In the absence of hereditary distinctions of birth and rank the accumulation of wealth constituted the most obvious badge of social superiority, and once the process was begun, the inbred urge to keep on working made it difficult to stop. "The poor struggle to be rich, the rich to be richer," remarked an onlooker in the mid-nineteenth century.³⁹ Thanks to equality of opportunity with plenty for all, the class struggle in America has consisted in this struggle of Americans to climb out of one class into a higher one. The zest of competition frequently led to sharp trading, fraud, and chicanery, but in the public mind guilt attached less to the practices than to the ineptitude of being caught at them. Financial success was popularly accepted as the highest success, and not until the twentieth century did a religious leader venture to advance the un-American doctrine that ill-gotten wealth was "tainted money" even when devoted to benevolent uses.

It would be a mistake, however, to think of the American merely as a mechanism set in motion by dropping a coin in the slot. When President Coolidge made his famous remark, "The business of America is business," he quite properly added, "The chief ideal of the American people is idealism. I cannot repeat too often that America is a nation of idealists."⁴⁰ This dualism puzzled foreign commentators, who found it difficult, for example, to reconcile worship of the Almighty Dollar with the equally universal tendency to spend freely and give money away. In contrast to Europe, America has had practically no misers, and one consequence of the winning of independence was the abolition of primogeniture and entail. Harriet Martineau was among those who concluded that "the eager pursuit of wealth does not necessarily indicate a love of wealth for its own sake."⁴¹ The fact is that, for a people who recalled how hungry and ill-clad their ancestors had been through the centuries in the Old World, the chance to make money was like the sunlight at the end of a tunnel. It was the means of living a life of human dignity. In other words, for the great majority of Americans it was a symbol of idealism rather than materialism. Hence "this new man" had an instinctive sympathy for the underdog, and even persons of moderate wealth gratefully shared it with the less fortunate, helping to endow charities, schools, hospitals, and art

³⁹ Nichols, p. 195.

⁴⁰ William Allen White, *Calvin Coolidge* (New York, 1925), p. 218. "They are capable of an ideality surpassing that of Englishmen or Frenchmen," said Bryce, III, 59.

⁴¹ Martineau, II, 143.

galleries and providing the wherewithal to nourish movements for humanitarian reform which might otherwise have died a-borning.

The energy that entered into many of these movements was heightened by another national attitude: optimism. It was this quality that sustained the European men and women who with heavy hearts quit their ancestral firesides to try their fortunes in a strange and far-off continent. This same trait animated the pioneer farmers confronted by the hardships, loneliness, and terrors of the primeval forest and served also to comfort their successors who, though toiling under less dire conditions, were constantly pitted against both the uncertainties of the weather and the unpredictable demands of the market. When Thomas Jefferson remarked, "I steer my bark with Hope in the head, leaving Fear astern," he spoke for all his compatriots.⁴² To doubt the future was to confess oneself a failure since the life history of almost any American documented the opposite view. A belief in progress blossomed spontaneously in such a soil. If it made some men tolerant of present abuses in the confident expectation that time would provide the cure, it fired others with an apostolic zeal to hasten the happy day. As a keen observer in the middle of the last century said of his fellow countrymen, "Americans are sanguine enough to believe that no evil is without a remedy, if they could only find it, and they see no good reason why they should not try to find remedies for all the evils of life."⁴³ Not even fatalism in religion could long withstand the bracing atmosphere of the New World. This quality of optimism sometimes soared to dizzy heights, causing men to strive for earthly perfection in communistic societies or to prepare to greet the return of Christ in ascension robes.

It attained its most blatant expression in the national love of bragging. At bottom, this habit sprang from pride in a country of vast distances and mighty elevations and from an illimitable faith in its possibilities of being great as well as big. The American glorified the future in much the same spirit that the European glorified the past. Both tended to exalt what they had the most of, and by a simple transition the American also found it easy to speak of expected events as though they had already happened. Oftentimes the motive was to compensate for an inner feeling of inferiority. This frame of mind prompted statesmen to cultivate spread-eagle oratory, a style which a writer in the *North American Review* in 1858 defined as "a compound of exaggeration, effrontery, bombast, and extravagance, mixed metaphors, platitudes, defiant threats thrown at the world, and irreverent appeals flung at the Supreme Being."⁴⁴

⁴² Letter to John Adams, April 8, 1816, Thomas Jefferson, *Writings* (Andrew A. Lipscomb, ed., Washington, 1903), XIV, 467.

⁴³ Nichols, p. 46.

⁴⁴ *North American Review*, LXXXVII, 454.

For the same reason the ordinary citizen was encouraged to tell the truth hyperbolically. In the thinly settled sections this manner of speech went by the name of tall talk, causing the backwoods to be known as a "paradise of puffers."⁴⁵ A Frenchman, however, referred to a national, not a regional, trait when he said Americans seemed loath to admit that Christopher Columbus had not been an American, and it was an Easterner writing in an Eastern magazine who solemnly averred, "It is easier, say the midwives, to come into this world of America . . . than in any other world extant."⁴⁶ In business life this indulgent attitude toward veracity lent itself to deliberate attempts to defraud and made the land speculator with his "lithographed mendacity" the natural forerunner of the dishonest stock promoter of recent times.⁴⁷ Boastfulness is an attribute of youth which a greater national maturity has helped to moderate. Still the War Department in its manual of etiquette for the American soldiers now in England has seen fit to admonish them: "Don't show off or brag or bluster—'swank' as the British say."⁴⁸

This facility for overstatement has given a distinctive quality to American humor. In the United States humor has never been part of a general gaiety of spirit. It has had to break through a crust of life thick with serious purpose. Hence it has had to be boisterous and bold, delighting in exaggeration, incongruities, and farcical effects, and reaching a grand climax in the practical joke. Out of a comic mood so induced arose such folk heroes as Mike Fink, Paul Bunyan, Pecos Bill, and the myth-embroidered Davy Crockett, whose fabulous exploits flourished in oral tradition long before they were reduced to print. In deference to the national sobriety of temperament the most successful professional humorists have been those who preserved a decorous gravity of expression while telling their incredible yarns.

If this analysis of American characteristics is well founded, then certain modifications might be expected as the primacy of rural life yielded to the rise of urbanism. In the latter decades of the nineteenth century a rapidly increasing proportion of the people found themselves dwelling under conditions different from those of earlier times. In 1860 only a sixth of the nation lived in towns of 8,000 or more, but by 1900 a third resided in urban communities, and today well over half do. Moreover, throughout these years, places of 25,000 or more attracted a majority of the city dwellers.⁴⁹ Paralleling

⁴⁵ Timothy Flint, *Recollections* (Boston, 1826), p. 185.

⁴⁶ Jean Jacques A. Ampère, *Promenade en Amérique* (Paris, 1855), I, 7-8; anon., "Are We a Good-Looking People?" *Putnam's Monthly*, I (1853), 312.

⁴⁷ The quoted phrase is from John J. Ingalls, "Some Ingalls Letters," *Kansas State Historical Society, Collections*, XIV (1915-18), 95.

⁴⁸ War Department, *A Short Guide to Great Britain* [1942], p. 28.

⁴⁹ Warren S. Thompson and P. K. Whelpton, *Population Trends in the United States* (New York, 1933), pp. 20, 24.

this urban growth occurred a remarkable development of new means of communication and transport that carried city ideas and ways to "the very fingertips of the whole land": the telephone, rural free delivery, good roads, inter-urban electric transit, the automobile, the movie, the radio.⁵⁰ In this changed environment of American society many of the historic national traits flourished; others were tempered or transformed. The period of urban and industrial predominance is short as compared with the long impact of ruralism upon the American mind, but already several reversals of older attitudes are apparent.

One is the importance which Americans have come to attach to cultural achievement. The ancient prejudice against "useless" accomplishments could not long withstand the compelling opportunities offered by the city. In such centers were to be found the best schools, the best newspapers, the best churches, and virtually all the bookstores, libraries, publishing houses, concert halls, art galleries, and theaters. There, too, America made closest contact with the vital thought of Europe. The leveling upward of popular taste insured encouragement and financial support for persons who wanted to cultivate their brains rather than their biceps. Who can ever know how dreadful a toll the two and a half centuries of agricultural existence exacted in terms of possible creative advances of the mind and spirit, how many a "mute inglorious Milton" succumbed to the unending struggle with Nature? For persons like these the city meant a glad release. It gave them a chance to mature their powers, to commune with kindred spirits, and to enter the lists for fame and fortune. Even in earlier times cultural stirrings had centered in the towns and cities. Now, as the urban influence became uppermost, Americans commenced to make contributions to scholarship, science, literature, and the fine arts that challenged comparison with the best Europe could offer.

As a necessary consequence, some of the old aversion to specialization of talent vanished. In a civilization rapidly growing more complex, men began to learn to place a higher value on thoroughly mastering a skill or conquering a particular branch of knowledge. The business of making a living tended to fall into compartments, with the men best equipped by training or experience reaping the greatest rewards. This trend characterized not only the arts and sciences but also the upper ranges of industry and trade. Even in public life expertness of knowledge steadily played a larger part, notably in the administrative services of city, state, and nation. The derisive references to a "Brain Trust" several years ago came from partisan critics who did not, however, intend to abandon the device if or when they should return to power.

⁵⁰ The quoted phrase is from Josiah Strong's preface to Samuel L. Loomis, *Modern Cities and Their Religious Problems* (New York, 1887), p. 6.

A further result of the changed aspect of American society has been the great impetus given to voluntary associational activity. In an agricultural environment the gregarious instinct was constantly thwarted by the dearth of neighbors. The hunger for companionship could find only an occasional outlet, as at the county fair or in the tumultuous crowd gathered from far and near for a camp meeting. To the rural birthright of liberty and equality the city added the boon of fraternity. In a crowded community like could find like. The reformer, the businessman, the wage earner, the intellectual worker, the sports lover, the ancestor worshiper—all these and many others drifted together into special groups to foster interests held in common, and these local societies seldom failed to expand into nation-wide federations. Soon the population was divided between the organized and those who organized them, until, if the late Will Rogers is to be believed, "Americans will join anything in town but their own family. Why, two Americans can't meet on the street without one banging a gavel and calling the other to order."⁵¹ Thus the passion for associational activity became a sovereign principle of life.

Quite as noteworthy has been another effect of city growth: the renouncing of individualism as the automatic cure of human ills. As the nineteenth century advanced, the increasing domination of the national economy by the urban magnates of business and finance caused the farmers to demand that the government intercede to protect their right to a decent livelihood. In the cities the congested living quarters, the growing wretchedness of the poor, and the rise of difficult social problems also created doubts as to the sufficiency of the laissez-faire brand of democracy. Only the rich and the powerful seemed now to profit from the system of unbridled individualism. Though the solid core of ancient habit yielded stubbornly, the average man came gradually to believe that under the altered conditions it was the duty of the government of all to safeguard equal opportunity for all. After the American fashion it was a doctrineless conviction, the product of an adjustment to new times for the sake of preserving the traditional spirit of self-reliance and free competition.

In this modern age the gospel of work retained its grip upon the American mentality, but the assurance of permanent remunerative work no longer existed, particularly for the army of city toilers. Every sudden jar to the national business structure cast large numbers of them out of employment. The wage earner through no fault of his own was being denied an essential part of his natural heritage. As early as 1893 the American Federation of Labor resolved that "the right to work is the right to life," and declared that

⁵¹ From a speech quoted in the *Boston Herald*, January 29, 1927.

"when the private employer cannot or will not give work the municipality, state or nation must."⁵² But it was not until the Great Depression of 1929 destroyed the livelihood of people at all levels of society that this novel view became an article of American faith. The New Deal assumed the obligation not merely of saving the destitute from hunger but of creating jobs for the idle and guarding against such hazards in the future by means of unemployment compensation, retirement payments for aged employees, and special provisions for farmers. Thus what had begun as the community's need for everyone to work became transformed into a doctrine of the right to work and then into the responsibility of government to provide the means of work.

The national character, as we at present know it, is thus a mixture of long-persistent traits and newly acquired characteristics. Based upon the solid qualities of those Europeans who dared to start life anew across the Atlantic, it assumed distinctive form under the pressure of adaptation to a radically different environment. "Our ancestors sought a new country," said James Russell Lowell. "What they found was a new condition of mind."⁵³ The long tutelage to the soil acted as the chief formative influence, removing ancient inhibitions, freeing latent energies, revamping mental attitudes. The rise of the city confirmed or strengthened many of the earlier attributes while altering others. Probably none of the traits is peculiar to the American people; some of them we may regard with more humility than pride; but the sum total represents a way of life unlike that of any other nation.

Just as the American character has undergone modification in the past, so it will doubtless undergo modification in the future. Nevertheless, certain of its elements seem so deeply rooted as to defy the erosion of time and circumstance. Of this order are the qualities that made possible the occupying and development of the continent, the building of a democratic society, and the continuing concern for the welfare of the underprivileged. These are attributes better suited to peace than to war, yet every great crisis has found the people ready to die for their conception of life so that their children might live it. Today the nation is engaged in its mightiest struggle for survival. Let none despair. The American character, whatever its shortcomings, abounds in courage, creative energy, and resourcefulness and is bottomed upon the profound conviction that nothing in the world is beyond its power to accomplish.

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⁵² American Federation of Labor, *Report of the Proceedings of the Thirteenth Annual Convention* (New York, 1894), p. 37.

⁵³ Lowell, "The Independent in Politics," *Works*, VI, 205.

Feudalism and Its Antecedents in England

IN a previous article I reviewed the opinions of various historians on the origin and significance of feudalism and ventured to state some of my own.¹ Feudalism proper, I concluded, was essentially political, being a phase of government developed by the Frankish kings through the granting of benefices to their vassals. Originally the fief was not any benefice, but a military benefice; the vassal was not any man of a lord, but a military retainer. Vassalage, whatever the derivation of the word, was directly descended from the Germanic custom that Tacitus called the *comitatus*. Although the benefice was the outgrowth of the Roman *precarium*, feudal tenure was wholly medieval in that the fief was a benefice held by a vassal. By rewarding their vassals with fiefs, the Carolingians sought to provide themselves with a force of heavy-armed cavalry; by insisting that all great officials should be their vassals, they hoped to strengthen the royal administration; and by extending the privilege of immunity to all fief-holders, they deliberately gave numerous powers of local government to the feudal aristocracy. The disintegration of the Carolingian Empire resulted from its inherent weakness, not from the feudalizing policy of its rulers. Feudal institutions worked effectively in many of the small states that had emerged by the middle of the tenth century. The usefulness of feudal tenures, feudal armies, feudal castles, and the like is evinced by the fact that they came to be adopted throughout medieval Europe. To misunderstand feudalism is to misunderstand the political life of the Middle Ages.

The purpose of the present article² is to apply these conclusions to the feudalism of England, a subject on which a formidable mass of writing has already accumulated. Happily for the reviewer, however, a good part of the mass may be disregarded as too antiquated to require discussion. None of the old constitutional histories of England need even be mentioned except that by William Stubbs.³ His views on the feudal development of England may be cited because they show how confused the whole matter remained until J. H. Round had clearly stated and effectively solved the central prob-

¹ *American Historical Review*, XLVI (1941), 788-812. For a more popular presentation on a broader scale see my *Mediaeval Feudalism*, recently published by the Cornell University Press.

² I wish to thank the members of my graduate seminar during the academic year 1941-42 for contributing to this article as their predecessors did to its predecessor.

³ The following references are to the sixth edition (Oxford, 1903), which was but slightly changed from the first edition of 1873.

lem.⁴ On taking up the subject of feudalism, Stubbs flatly states that "by its historic origin and growth" it was "distinctly Frank." "Feudalism in both tenure and government was, so far as it existed in England, brought full-grown from France."⁵ William, however, was both wise and strong. He merely substituted "the Frankish system of tenure . . . for the Anglo-Saxon"; he did not introduce "the feudal principles of government," which in every state where they were logically carried out reduced the central monarchy to "a mere shadow of a name."⁶ Even with regard to tenure there was after 1066 a very gradual transformation of Anglo-Saxon forms into Norman. Presumably "the actual obligation of military service was much the same in both systems, and . . . even the amount of land which was bound to furnish a mounted warrior was the same, however the conformity may have been produced." The change was essentially one "from confusion to order." "The complicated and unintelligible irregularities of the Anglo-Saxon tenures were exchanged for the simple and uniform feudal theory."⁷

Stubbs, it may be noted, never uses the term "Anglo-Saxon feudalism"; all that he will admit is that on the eve of the Norman Conquest "Anglo-Saxon institutions were already approaching the feudal model."⁸ For Stubbs, as an ardent disciple of Georg Waitz, refuses to see any connection between Gallo-Roman vassalage and the Germanic *comitatus*. The latter, since it had preserved "a more distinct existence" among the invaders of Britain, was perhaps "one of the causes that distinguished the later Anglo-Saxon system most definitely from the feudalism of the Frank empire."⁹ Being by origin a sort of *gesith*, who was none other than the *comes* of Tacitus, the thegn could not really be a vassal. "Frank vassalage was based on the practice of commendation and the beneficiary system." "Each of these practices had its parallel in England"—as had also the Continental grant of immunity.¹⁰ But a peculiar combination of the elements differentiated the Frankish from the Anglo-Saxon custom. Under the first the benefice and the *comitatus* remained unconnected; under the second they were "in the closest connexion."¹¹ Throughout all this discussion, despite its conscientious and learned character, one feels that Stubbs is somehow managing to argue in circles. He is sure only of his conclusion: that English institutional development has been continuous since Anglo-Saxon times, uninterrupted by the feudalizing policy of the Norman conquerors.

⁴ In his famous essay, "The Introduction of Knight Service into England," *Feudal England* (London, 1895), pp. 225-314; first published in the *English Historical Review*, VI-VII (1891-92).

⁵ *Constitutional History of England*, I, 273, and n. 2.

⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 274, 279.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 282-83.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 283 ff.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 273-77. On Waitz see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLVI, 791 ff.

¹⁰ Stubbs, I, 170-75, 275-76.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 170, n. 2.

To the broad theory of feudalism thus presented Round, of course, paid little attention. His article on the introduction of knight service into England dealt solely with that one problem, but it was of crucial importance. The establishment of feudal tenure in the Norman kingdom, Round conclusively proved, was not a matter of gradual change. On the contrary, it came about through the revolutionary action of the Conqueror himself, who gave much of England as fiefs to his vassals without the least regard to the military, social, or tenurial customs of the Anglo-Saxons. In the arrangements made by each vassal to provide his owed service the king would have no interest as long as that service was duly rendered, and it was defined in terms of Norman-French feudalism. As the direct consequence of Round's work, most scholars have long since abandoned the idea that the feudalization of England was of slight constitutional significance and now agree that, from almost every point of view, the year 1066 marks the beginning of a new epoch in the history of the kingdom.¹²

Nevertheless, the school of which Stubbs was a prominent member still had much to say on the subject of feudal institutions. Maitland, in particular, devoted a considerable portion of his eloquent *Domesday Book and Beyond* to the matter of Anglo-Saxon precedent for Norman feudalism. Without depreciating Round's work, Maitland questions whether the Conqueror really "introduced any very new principle." To follow up this query he offers his entire second essay, there discussing the development of seignorial justice, the gradual subjection of the free population to aristocratic control, and the increasing importance of subordinate land tenure, especially that involving military service.¹³ All these factors, in Maitland's opinion, must be regarded as having contributed to the growth of feudalism, which "is and always will be an inexact term"—one that may be rightly used to denote all the more characteristic phases of medieval life. According to this view, England had been feudal long before William of Normandy defined the service to be owed by his barons. As early as the tenth century we find something very like feudal tenure in the *beneficia* conferred on his thegns by Oswald, bishop of Worcester. By that time the manorial system was already old throughout most of England. And seignorial justice can be traced back not only to the first grants of immunity but even, by implication, to the first land books of

¹² See especially the fine tribute to Round in F. M. Stenton, *The First Century of English Feudalism, 1066-1166* (Oxford, 1932), Introduction. Cf. R. R. Darlington, in *History*, XXII (1937), 1-13, and D. C. Douglas, in the *Economic History Review*, IX (1938-39), 128-43. At this point a reference may also be given to C. Petit-Dutaillis, *Studies and Notes Supplementary to Stubbs' Constitutional History*, trans. by W. E. Rhodes (Manchester, 1908)—a well-known volume which is now itself in need of much supplementary criticism.

¹³ F. W. Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond* (Cambridge, 1897), pp. 160, 220-356.

the Anglo-Saxon kings. As Maitland states in his preface, he has tried to "abandon as little as may be of what we learnt from Dr Konrad von Maurer and Dr Stubbs."

In these opinions Maitland received the warm support of Paul Vinogradoff, whose third important work was dedicated to his lamented friend.¹⁴ Meanwhile, however, George Burton Adams had re-examined the subject of "Anglo-Saxon Feudalism" and had arrived at wholly different conclusions.¹⁵ Maitland's argument for pre-Norman feudalism in England, Adams declares, "rests upon the existence before the Conquest of three groups of institutional facts: dependent tenures, private jurisdictions, and military service as an element in land tenure." But "if we grant the existence of these facts in Saxon England have we admitted the existence there of the feudal system proper?" The answer, he says, must be No; for "those characteristics of feudalism in the wider sense . . . are not in the line of the ancestry of feudalism proper." Only one form of dependent tenure may be rightly designated as feudal—the one distinguished by the "*patrocinium* contract," which specified honorable service, essentially political rather than economic. Since that form of tenure did not exist in Saxon England, neither did a truly feudal jurisdiction or a truly feudal military system, both of which were based on the feudal contract.

Maitland apparently never answered this criticism by Adams, who reaffirmed and amplified his opinions in 1912 with reference only to certain objections that he had received in private letters.¹⁶ Yet a telling rejoinder could easily have been made by any upholder of the Stubbsian tradition who had thought to proceed somewhat as follows. The keystone in the logical structure of Adams is the "*patrocinium* contract," the best example of which is the well-known formula of Tours.¹⁷ By it a man who lacks both food and clothing yields and commends himself into the power, defense, or *mundo-burdum* of such and such a magnificent lord, agreeing, in return for a means of subsistence, to give him lifelong service *ingenuili ordine*. To turn this agreement into a feudal contract Adams by his own definition must read into it the idea of honorable service and make it wholly different from all varieties of personal dependence in Saxon England. But how can he do this when the earliest of the dooms establish penalties for the breach of the *mundbyrd*

¹⁴ *English Society in the Eleventh Century* (Oxford, 1908); this was preceded by *Villainage in England* (Oxford, 1892) and *The Growth of the Manor* (London, 1905).

¹⁵ *Am. Hist. Rev.*, VII (1901), 11-35. The following quotations are from pages 12, 14, and 17.

¹⁶ *The Origin of the English Constitution* (New Haven, 1912), pp. 44 ff. On the supplement concerning "Political and Economic Feudalism" see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLVI, 808.

¹⁷ Quoted by Adams, *ibid.*, VII, 31; cf. XLVI, 802, n. 56.

enjoyed by *eorl* and *ceorl*, as well as by king and ecclesiastic, and when the records of the later kingdom constantly tell of commended freemen who, as such, owe service "of a free order" to their lords?¹⁸ In my opinion, at least, Adams made his fundamental mistake in accepting the views of Waitz and Fustel de Coulanges with regard to the origin of feudalism. Having done so, he was logically obliged to admit that something very like feudalism did exist in Saxon England. He would have done better to follow Paul Roth and Heinrich Brunner.¹⁹

More recently the historical student has been provided with a splendid supplement to Round's work by Mr. Stenton. In order to explain the title of his book, *The First Century of English Feudalism, 1066-1166*, he states what is unquestionably the judgment of most scholars today:²⁰ "The more clearly the Anglo-Norman aristocracy of barons and knights is seen in the light of records written from its own standpoint, the more widely it seems to differ from the native aristocracy which preceded it, and the more misleading it seems to apply the adjective 'feudal' to any aspect of English society before the Norman Conquest." Mr. Stenton's comment, however, is restricted to one or two phases of later Anglo-Saxon history; he is not led to consider the comprehensive theories of institutional growth presented by Adams and Maitland. So it may still be worth while to review, as briefly as possible, the entire question of the alleged Anglo-Saxon feudalism. Although we may be convinced that the phrase is unjustifiable, we may try to understand what institutions were actually developed in pre-Norman England and how, if at all, they were related to those properly termed feudal.

At the beginning of our investigation we are confronted by a famous problem of social history. Twelfth century England was characterized by the sharp differentiation of two classes: the landlords, who constituted a political and military aristocracy, and the cultivators of the soil, who constituted an economically dependent peasantry. Had this differentiation resulted from the feudalizing policy of the Norman kings, and perhaps of their immediate predecessors, or had it formed part of the original Anglo-Saxon system? Many distinguished historians have taught that the Germanic invaders of Britain, like those of Gaul, commonly settled in free villages, where as peasant-warriors they long maintained a sort of primitive democracy.²¹ Widespread

¹⁸ Aethelberht, 2, 6, 8, 10, 13-15; Wihtraed, 2: F. Liebermann, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen* (Halle, 1903-16), I, 3-4, 12. For other references see below.

¹⁹ Their views are sketched in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLVI, 792 ff.

²⁰ P. v.

²¹ Cf. H. Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, I (2d ed., Leipzig, 1906), 341: "Als Krieger und Bauer war der freie Germane in die fränkische Geschichte eingetreten. Allmählich steigerten sich die Ansprüche, die der Landbau einerseits, der Heerdienst andererseits an ihn stellten. Zwar

belief in this doctrine has tended to obscure the fact that it involves not an easy interpretation of history but a difficult one. Any member of the Germanist school, following Stubbs, has to show how his cherished democracy was first derived from the warrior aristocracy pictured by Tacitus and was then changed back into much the same kind of aristocracy.²² The institutional history of England would be greatly simplified if we could accept the view of Frederic Seebohm²³ that English society was from the first dominated by the manorial system, which had long prevailed throughout the Roman provinces and which accorded very well with the established custom of the invaders themselves.

Seebohm, however, has been repeatedly convicted of rash generalization. Few scholars of today would commit themselves to his central thesis, that English history "begins with the serfdom of the masses . . . a serfdom from which it has taken 1000 years of . . . economic evolution to set them free."²⁴ As has been clearly proved by Vinogradoff,²⁵ the serfdom, or villeinage, of the common law was the product of arbitrary definition by Norman lawyers. For the sake of a practical rule to govern judicial action, they declared that the typical villager (*villanus*) was a serf and therefore devoid of civil rights in the king's court. Their doctrine was in flat contradiction of Domesday Book; in 1066 the bulk of the English population was not legally unfree and,

führt er noch abwechselnd den Pflug und die Waffe; aber immer lästiger wird es ihm, jenen mit dieser zu vertauschen. . . ." Although it must be realized that the present study deals with only one phase of a European problem, tentative conclusions may, nevertheless, be drawn on the basis of the English evidence; and such procedure may eventually help us to understand the somewhat inferior sources of the Frankish monarchy.

²² The description of early Germanic society by Tacitus, whatever may be thought of its general validity, is the best we have, and its meaning is beyond dispute. The typical warrior of Tacitus was certainly no peasant.

²³ The book that profoundly shocked the learned world of the day was *The English Village Community* (London, 1883). It was followed by *The Tribal System in Wales* (London, 1895) and *Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law* (London, 1902). From the remarks of Petit-Dutaillis (pp. 1 ff.) and of most later writers on English constitutional history, one might suppose that Seebohm's argument lacks all justification. Yet it has been strongly supported by W. J. Ashley, *Surveys Historic and Economic* (London, 1900), pp. 39 ff.; H. M. Chadwick, *Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions* (Cambridge, 1905); and W. J. Corbett, in the *Cambridge Medieval History*, II (Cambridge, 1926), chap. xvii. To what extent I am indebted to these three authors for many of the views expressed below should be fairly obvious.

²⁴ *English Village Community*, p. ix.

²⁵ In his *Villainage in England*, which, like Maitland's *Domesday Book and Beyond*, was inspired by the desire to refute Seebohm. The development of serfdom is too large a subject for discussion in the following pages. I may, however, express the opinion that throughout the Middle Ages legal unfreedom was much less important than economic unfreedom. Under the Roman law the *colonus* was personally free, as was the villein under the common law of England except in respect of his subordination to a single manorial lord. The persistence of a Germanic vernacular among the Anglo-Saxon peoples perhaps indicates that they outnumbered the conquered Celts and Latins, but not that they were all descended from invading warriors. We may well believe that the Anglo-Saxons, like the Danes of the ninth century, resettled whole regions by bringing over their women, children, and economic dependents: Chadwick, *The Origin of the English Nation* (Cambridge, 1907), pp. 181 ff.; below, n. 35.

so far as we can tell, never had been. Yet, granting the soundness of Vinogradoff's argument, must we admit that Seebohm was entirely wrong? Since he had undertaken "a strictly economic inquiry," he really meant by "serfdom" not a legal theory but a form of agrarian subjection. In defining a new law of serfdom did not the Norman lawyers merely recognize the fact that the average peasant, at least in relation to his lord, was actually unfree? If we look for that kind of unfreedom, we find plenty of it—in the Anglo-Saxon records as well as in Domesday Book.

In other words, this part of Vinogradoff's work by no means refuted Seebohm's major contention. Nor did Vinogradoff believe otherwise; for he later published a second volume, *The Origin of the Manor*, in which he vigorously defended the orthodox view. Whatever may be thought of his opinions, he presented them with force and clarity. His conclusion can best be stated in his own words: "firstly, that the manorial system arises at the end of the Old English period mainly in consequence of the subjection of a labouring population of free descent to a military and capitalistic class, and, secondly, that the personal authority of the lord of the manor is gradually gaining the mastery over a rural community of ancient and independent growth."²⁶ Under "the manorial system" Vinogradoff thus includes most of what Maitland preferred to call "feudalism." The terminology is a matter of slight consequence. Our primary interest is in the origin of particular institutions: especially, to adopt a Continental classification, the villa, immunity, commendation, and the benefice.

No historian, so far as I am aware, has denied that the villa of the later Roman Empire, at least from the standpoint of economic administration, anticipated what the English came to call a manor. Such a villa seems plainly indicated by the dooms of Aethelberht, which prescribe penalties for homicide within the *tun* of the king or of an *eorl* and for unlawful entry into a *mannes tun*.²⁷ From first to last the Anglo-Saxon charters are mainly concerned with the alienation of landed estates which obviously include a large resident population of cultivators, whether free or unfree. Maitland, it is true, develops an elaborate argument to the effect that such grants imply the concession of political rather than of proprietary rights.²⁸ But this argument, as he frankly admits, is inspired by the consideration that otherwise "there will be small room left for any landowners in England save the kings, the

²⁶ P. 235.

²⁷ Aethelberht, 5, 13, 17 (Liebermann, I, 3-4). The penalties in the three cases are 50s., 12s., and 6s.; but the third involves no bloodshed. I therefore see no reason why the "man" in that instance must have been a *ceorl*, who could not have possessed a villa. It was this consideration that led Liebermann to vary his translation of *tun* from "Ortsbezirk" to "Hofbezirk."

²⁸ Maitland, pp. 230 ff.

churches, and perhaps a few great nobles," under whom the tillers of the soil will be "merely . . . slaves or *coloni*." Agreeing with Chadwick,²⁹ I ask "Why not?" We have authentic charters of immunity from as early a time as the seventh century.³⁰ If a king of that age wished to establish a governmental exemption for the benefit of a church or some other grantee, was there any need of his resorting to legal subterfuge?

No historian, so far as I am aware, has asserted that early Saxon England never contained a free village; yet actual proof of any such village is hard to adduce. Complete lack of evidence forced Stubbs to the reluctant conclusion that the Anglo-Saxons had not "brought with them" the *mark* system of the primitive Germans. He firmly believed, however, in the self-governing township, with its democratic assembly, popular trials, by-laws, elected officials, and definite representation in the hundred and the shire court.³¹ Vinogradoff, too, continued to have faith in the village community of Germanist tradition, though Maitland refused to allow it other than economic functions.³² Emphasizing the undoubted fact that the lowest political unit known to the dooms is the hundred, he thought it incredible that, if the township had ever had its own court and officials, they would have received no mention in the many enactments dealing with police and other local affairs. Maitland's argument, it seems to me, is conclusive, and is supported by all we know of parallel institutions on the Continent.³³ The self-governing village community of early medieval Europe, I suspect, has never been more than a figment of the romantic imagination.

The economically independent village that Maitland accepted cannot be ruled out of account as equally improbable. But what are the proofs of its existence? It does not, of course, appear in the charters. According to Liebermann, it is indicated only once in all the dooms, and I retain a doubt as to that one indication.³⁴ Maitland's strongest argument for the free agrarian

²⁹ *Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions*, pp. 372-74.

³⁰ Maitland, pp. 270 ff.

³¹ Stubbs, I, 89-99, 115, 128.

³² Maitland, pp. 147 ff.; criticized by Vinogradoff in his *Growth of the Manor*, pp. 145 ff. Cf. Ashley, pp. 61 ff.

³³ For additional discussion and references see my paper in *The Constitution Reconsidered*, edited by Conyers Read (New York, 1938), p. 38; also my *Borough and Town* (Cambridge, Mass., 1933), pp. 5, 18.

³⁴ Inc, 42 (Liebermann, I, 106); explained, *ibid.*, II, 297-98 ("Bauer," 3-4). This is the famous provision that, if certain *ceorlas* fail to build their shares of a fence about a field used in common, and if animals get in and destroy anything, those guilty of the neglect shall be liable for damages to the rest. Liebermann's interpretation depends on the fact that no lord is mentioned. But if there was as yet no manorial court, the suit for damages would lie in the folkmoot; and under such conditions would the lord need to be mentioned? As to the undoubted reference in the doom to the open-field system, I agree with Seebohm that the latter presupposes seignorial management rather than its absence. In the present connection, however, I merely insist that we cannot be too sure of what the passage implies.

community is based on the Domesday inquest. Within the old Danelaw, as he points out, we find villages that were shared in the time of King Edward by a considerable number of proprietors, often styled freemen or sokemen.³⁵ This fact, however, leaves many questions unanswered. What sort of people were these proprietors? Did they till the soil with their own hands? Were their holdings restricted to a single village or scattered in many villages? Were they the descendants of Danish conquerors who had abandoned the profession of arms or of Danish peasants who had improved their condition? Had the Danes created these villages, or had they in some fashion resettled them? And to what extent did their agricultural system resemble that of the Saxon invaders some four centuries earlier? Until we have answers to many such questions, we must withhold judgment concerning the relevance of the Domesday statistics to the subject under discussion. And we must not wholly rely on the imaginative reconstruction of primitive institutions from alleged vestiges in a later age—a dangerous procedure against which the historian has long been warned.³⁶

A prominent feature of the twelfth century manorial system was the political authority exercised by the lord over his rural tenants, both free and servile. One school of writers, which included G. B. Adams,³⁷ has explained this authority as being ultimately derived from the *dominium* of the Roman proprietor over his estates and slaves. Another school, which I believe to have the better of the argument,³⁸ has contended that public authority could hardly arise out of private ownership and must therefore have resulted from a delegation by the state—*i.e.*, a formal grant of immunity. As to the antiquity of such grants in England there is no dispute. From the seventh century on they were regularly made by the Anglo-Saxon kings in favor of churches; somewhat later they seem to have been acquired also by prominent laymen. The controversial question is whether immunists did or did not have the

³⁵ Maitland, pp. 129 ff.; *cf.* Vinogradoff, *English Society*, pp. 332 ff., 414 ff., 431 ff. The latter seems to regard the petty freeman of the Danish regions as a warrior in reduced circumstances; but it is very significant that in Alfred and Guthrum, 2 (Liebermann, I, 126) the Danish freedman is equated with the rent-paying *ceorl* of Wessex: Chadwick, *Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions*, pp. 397 ff. That the Danish conquests involved the migration of countless peasants has been made clear by Stenton, "The Danes in England," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XIII (1927), 219 ff., 232 ff. On the peculiarity of agrarian organization in the shires colonized by the Danes see also Stenton, "Types of Manorial Structure in the Northern Danelaw," *Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History*, II (1910), 1-96; and Douglas, "The Social Structure of Medieval East Anglia," *ibid.*, IX (1927). Both of these writers tend to consider the typical sokeman a wholly free peasant; yet even Vinogradoff (*English Society*, p. 435) was led to observe that "when we hear of a socman, without further qualification, we ought primarily to think of one who could not recede with his land, and thus, notwithstanding his personally free condition and his public rights, was nevertheless actually a 'colonus' ascribed to the glebe," to use the Roman term."

³⁶ See especially Ashley, pp. 45, 79.

³⁷ *Am. Hist. Rev.*, VII, 23 ff.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, XLVI, 808, n. 79.

right to administer justice in a seignorial court. Maitland was inclined to allow the right even to the first of them;³⁹ quite recently Mr. Goebel has declared that seignorial courts were unknown in Saxon England.⁴⁰ So far as the present inquiry is concerned, the matter is of secondary importance. I need only express tentative agreement with the view that the original immunity, in England or on the Continent, established a merely fiscal privilege, the power of taking or sharing the public revenues collected from certain persons or from certain districts; but that courts of one sort or another were assuredly being held under seignorial franchise long before the Norman Conquest.

Throughout the preceding discussion it should not be forgotten that our chief concern is with a social problem—the differentiation of a landed aristocracy from an economically dependent peasantry. The evidence thus far reviewed fails to show that such differentiation was a comparatively late development among the Anglo-Saxons. On the contrary, the principal sources of the seventh century indicate that “from the earliest Anglo-Saxon times the peasant’s obligation for rent, and therefore the village on the soil of a landlord, must have been the rule.”⁴¹ The *ceorl*, though personally free and perhaps having servants of his own, commonly appears as an agricultural tenant, from whom his lord was apt to receive labor service as well as a heavy *gafol* paid in kind.⁴² More remains to be said about the legal and economic position of the *ceorl*, but for the moment let us merely agree that he seems to have been a peasant. As such, the dooms regularly contrast him with some person called *eorl*, *gesiðcund man*, *twelfhynde man*, or *þegn*. What do these terms imply?

One of them may be quickly disposed of. The “twelve-hundred man” of Wessex was thus styled because he enjoyed a wergeld of 1200*s.*, whereas the *ceorl* was only a “two-hundred man.” The West Saxon thegn’s wergeld was 1200*s.* and so, evidently, was that of the earlier West Saxon *gesiðcund man*.⁴³ It would therefore be a logical deduction that all three words designated

³⁹ Maitland, pp. 258-90.

⁴⁰ J. Goebel, *Felony and Misdemeanor*, I (New York, 1937), 336 ff. See Miss Cam’s criticism, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLIII, 583 ff.; Stenton, *First Century of English Feudalism*, p. 42; Corbett, *Cam. Med. Hist.*, III (Cambridge, 1936), 405 ff.

⁴¹ Liebermann, II, 298 (“Bauer,” 5).

⁴² Inc. 67 (Liebermann, I, 118). See Chadwick, *Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions*, pp. 100 ff., 404; Corbett, *Cam. Med. Hist.*, II, 568.

⁴³ The numerous references to the dooms will be found in Liebermann, II, 731 ff. (“Wergeld,” 3-4). As to the main facts there is no controversy, though attempts to equate the monetary systems and to explain the social distinctions thus made have led to very complicated and often unconvincing arguments: e.g., Chadwick, *Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions*, pp. 12 ff., 105 ff., 400 ff.; Corbett, *Cam. Med. Hist.*, II, 567. On the peculiarity of Kentish custom see also R. H. Hodgkin, *A History of the Anglo-Saxons* (Oxford, 1935), I, 205 ff.; J. E. A. Jolliffe, *The Constitutional History of Medieval England* (London, 1937), pp. 11 ff.

members of a single class—men who were noble at least insofar as they were protected by a sixfold wergeld. And since *eorl* is later replaced in the Kentish dooms by *gesiðcund man*, it might even be supposed that all four terms were essentially synonymous despite the local variation of wergeld. Many writers, however, have insisted on a much more elaborate classification. The *eorl*, they say, was a representative of the old Continental nobility described by Tacitus.⁴⁴ The *gesiðcund* men of the dooms were descended from the warlike companions of a king, the members of his *comitatus*, whom he usually rewarded with estates and so made into a landed aristocracy. The thegns were more properly royal servants whose families, acquiring wealth and power, gradually supplanted or absorbed the *gesiðcund* nobility in the course of the tenth century.⁴⁵ This elaborate theory has nothing to support it but the consecutive appearance in the dooms of the three terms just mentioned, together with a number of doubtful interpretations.

Gesið occasions little trouble; all agree that it denoted an honorable companion, especially one who shared a military expedition. A man who enjoyed the status of *gesið*, whatever that might imply, would be called *gesiðcund*. And since *eorl* was a vague word that hardly meant more than "distinguished man," there is no reason why an *eorl* could not be a *gesið*, or vice versa.⁴⁶ Could not either be also a *þegn*? Although by derivation this term is now admitted to have meant "boy" and not "servant," the common opinion seems to be that its "early history . . . is one of service."⁴⁷ No such conclusion can be fairly drawn from Anglo-Saxon literature. In only three of some thirty passages in *Beowulf* can *þegn* mean other than a man of high rank, a warrior.⁴⁸ And before we condemn to servitude the youths who poured the ale at the lord's table or cared for the hero's arms, we should remember how, in the days of chivalry, highborn squires performed much the same duties. Our standard Anglo-Saxon dictionary⁴⁹ gives the primary meaning of *þegn*

⁴⁴ So, for example, Stubbs, I, 168 ff.; Liebermann, II, 268 ("Adel," 1).

⁴⁵ A. G. Little, in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, VI (1889), 723 ff.; L. M. Larson, *The King's Household in England before the Norman Conquest* (Madison, 1904), chaps. II-III; Liebermann, II, 427 ff. ("Gefolgsadel"), 680 ff. ("Thegn"). Stubbs (I, 172 ff.) had found it hard to distinguish the thegn from the *gesið*.

⁴⁶ Chadwick, *Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions*, pp. 111 ff., 379 ff.—a discussion that takes up in detail the pertinent references of Bede. Corbett (*Cam. Med. Hist.*, II, 566) proposes "warrior" as the best translation of *eorl* and thinks that *gesiðcund* has the same implication, that of one "suited by birth and training" to be a military companion. This is merely a clearer statement of what Chadwick had already suggested.

⁴⁷ Larson, p. 90.

⁴⁸ LL. 494, 673, 1794. The second of these references is to an *ombiht þegn*, i.e., one who performs a special office. The same term is used in line 229 to indicate a coast guard, *Hroðgares þegn* who rides to the seashore on Beowulf's arrival.

⁴⁹ That of Bosworth, ed. by T. N. Toller (Oxford, 1882-98). There are many compounds (e.g., *burþegn*, *disþegn*, *horsþegn*), some of which may have been used to denote lowborn servants; but note the equivalence of the three mentioned to "chamberlain," "steward," and "constable."

as "a servant, one who does service for another"; but this definition appears to be based on little more than the fact that the word was often used to translate the Latin *minister*, and usually if not always with an honorable implication. A reference to *þegn* as the equivalent of "disciple" leads us to *Andreas*—that marvelous tale in which the Twelve are described as glorious heroes, bold warriors, *þeodnes þegnas*; in which the cannibalistic Mermedonians are called devil's thegns; in which God and two of His angels pose as boatmen, brave thegns ready for a voyage.⁵⁰ Throughout the Anglo-Saxon period nothing finer could be said of a man than that he was a true thegn—witness, finally, the magnificent tribute to Offa in the *Song of Maldon*.⁵¹

In *Beowulf* the same persons are often referred to as *eorlas*, *gesiðas*, and *þegnas*; whatever the peculiar implications of the three words, they were all used to designate men of honorable position—seafarers and fighters. So it is in the other poems and also, I believe, in the dooms. Although the usage varied from age to age, it served to indicate a single aristocracy, the "dear-born" class of warriors. The law cared not at all whether *ceorlisc* was contrasted with *eorlcund*, *gesiðcund*, or *þegnboren*; the social distinction was the same. And we must conclude, from the adjectives commonly employed and from much corroborative evidence, that both ranks were hereditary.⁵² Acquisition of royal or ecclesiastical office could of course be expected to increase a man's wergeld; a king's thegn was worth more than an ordinary thegn, and every honest priest came to enjoy thegnly status. But the dooms do not justify the idea that the status ever depended on wealth.⁵³ The *ceorl* and the merchant who "throve to thegnright" appear solely in a private compilation of the eleventh century. The author, as Liebermann has shown, added certain remarks of his own to introduce a few documents that he had collected.⁵⁴ For this introduction he used only sources known to us and sometimes misunderstood them. A sermon about good old days that never existed should not be preferred to the testimony of official records.

⁵⁰ Ll. 3, 40 ff., 245 ff., 323 ff., 344 ff., etc. Similar instances abound in *Elene*, *Judith*, *Genesis*, and other Anglo-Saxon poems. See Chadwick, *Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions*, pp. 348-50; Hodgkin, II, 457 ff.

⁵¹ Ll. 281 ff.

⁵² Liebermann, II, 269 ("Adel," 4), 731 ("Wergeld," 2). Throughout the Anglo-Saxon period, as later, all freemen could be called on for military service whenever the occasion demanded. But it was only the warriors proper who counted for anything on the field of battle: Liebermann, II, 499 ff. ("Heer"); Chadwick, *Origin of the English Nation*, pp. 158 ff.; Hodgkin, I, 206 ff., and II, 590 ff.; below, n. 62.

⁵³ Inc. 23, 24, 32 (Liebermann, I, 100-102) have been interpreted by Chadwick (*Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions*, pp. 91 ff.) to imply a West Saxon gradation of wergelds based on property; but the dooms cited refer only to Welshmen, and Chadwick's opinion is rejected by Liebermann, II, 646 ("Sechshunderter"). On the king's thegn and the priest see Liebermann, II, 680 ("Thegn," 3), 662 ("Stand," 5).

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, III, 256-57, 259. The passages in question are *Gehyncðo* and *Norðleod*, 7-12 (*ibid.*, I, 456-60).

The foregoing interpretation of the sources naturally leads to the question: What were the relations, political and economic, between the warrior and peasant classes? The typical thegn, as portrayed in the dooms, was a landed proprietor who lived in a fortified dwelling, or *burh*,⁵⁵ and was supported by agricultural tenants, either slaves (*peowas*) or freemen (*ceorlas*). The latter, as we have seen, would normally owe both rent and labor in return for the land which they occupied. Being legally free, they might be supposed to have had the right to leave the estate whenever they chose to do so. But could they? Aside from their obligations to the lord as proprietor or immunist,⁵⁶ they might be bound to him by the tie of commendation. Our records of the seventh century show that one freeman was often under the protection (*mundbyrd*) of another; that any man—whether slave or free, whether peasant or warrior—could have a lord; and that such a lord, however illegally, might compel his *ceorl* to work on Sunday.⁵⁷ From the same age comes our first doom to the effect that “If any one goes without leave from his lord or steals away into another shire, and if he is there found, he shall go back to where he was and pay his lord 60s.”⁵⁸

This doom, with additional penalties, is repeated over and over in the following centuries.⁵⁹ And in the meantime we have another significant regulation: the relatives of a lordless (and landless) man must “settle him to folkright” by finding him a lord at the local court.⁶⁰ Beginning with Aethelstan, the state constantly tries to enforce the rule that every man who cannot otherwise be held to justice must have a lord to be responsible for him. Is this relationship vassalage, as so many writers would have us believe,⁶¹ or is it a form of seignorial bondage? The answer, in my opinion, depends upon the class to which the *folgere*, or *commendatus*, belonged. A thegn who fought for his lord and, if necessary, died with him on the field of battle may well be called a vassal in the proper sense of that French word. A vagabond

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 330 (“Burg,” 1); Stephenson, *Borough and Town*, pp. 53-54.

⁵⁶ Such a person clearly appears in Ine, 50 (Liebermann, I, 110-11), as the *gesidcund* landholder who may be the lord of freemen and may himself have a lord other than the king. In the later dooms an immunist of this sort is regularly described as *landrica* or *landhlaford* (*ibid.*, II, 131).

⁵⁷ See especially Wihtraed, 5, 9, 10; Ine, 3, 50, 70, 74 (*ibid.*, I, 12, 13, 90, 110, 119, 120).

⁵⁸ Ine, 39 (*ibid.*, I, 106).

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 427 (“Gefolge,” 26).

⁶⁰ II Aethelstan, 2 (*ibid.*, I, 150); see also II, 425 (“Gefolge,” 9).

⁶¹ So, for example, Liebermann in much of the comment cited above and throughout his notes generally. As I have tried to make clear in my previous article (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLVI, 802 ff.), this confusion is inevitable unless we restrict the term “vassalage” to an honorable relationship between members of the warrior class. On the striking similarity of the *gesid* or *begn* of the Anglo-Saxon poems to the vassal of the *chansons de geste* see Dr. E. K. Graham's dissertation, *Anglo-Saxon Vassalage* (Cornell University, 1938). Even Adams (*Origin of the English Constitution*, pp. 44-45) had to admit that the Anglo-Saxon oath of a man to his lord (Liebermann, I, 396) is much the same as a feudal oath of fealty. The man in question was presumably one of honorable status.

ceorl who by compulsion was attached to a lord—and would the latter accept him for love?—must have been a peasant, and a very unfree one. A man like this, commended for life and put to work on another's land, could have been little better off than a Roman *colonus*. Unless we clearly distinguish between the churlish and thegnly classes and regard them as essentially hereditary groups, we can expect to have no real understanding of the Anglo-Saxon system.

Even those historians who believe the thegn originally to have been a servant agree that he was pre-eminently a fighting man in the eleventh century.⁶² By that time it had long been customary for kings, ecclesiastics, and other wealthy men to grant estates as "loans," or benefices, to all sorts of presumably deserving persons. Such grants, in England as on the Continent, were regularly made for no more than three lives and on condition of specified rent or service.⁶³ Land thus held by a thegn might conceivably resemble what the French then called a fief. Maitland was of the opinion that, in particular, Bishop Oswald's loans to various friends and retainers definitely anticipated the feudal tenure of the Norman monarchy. But Mr. Stenton's reply to this well-known argument, it seems to me, is decisive. "None of all the documents which have come from Bishop Oswald offers any anticipation of the feudal principle by which a man will take land from a lord in return for a definite amount of military service to be rendered in respect of his tenure."⁶⁴ The bishop's memorandum, so greatly relied on by Maitland, describes "a very incoherent series of obligations," which "range from hunting service to bridge-building." His "famous 'law of riding' meant not military service but the duty of escorting a lord from place to place."⁶⁵ Those of the grantees who were thegns would doubtless have to fight because of the personal liability attaching to their status. They would not, however, owe service by virtue of a territorial assessment in five-hide units; for that rule applied solely to the mustering of the peasant population for the *fyrð*.⁶⁶

In Saxon England we therefore discover the manorial system, a dependent peasantry, a military aristocracy, grants of immunity, benefices, and various forms of commendation, including one that resembled vassalage. Yet,

⁶² Maitland, pp. 161 ff.; Vinogradoff, *English Society*, pp. 403 ff.; Liebermann, II, 680 ("Thegn," 2).

⁶³ Maitland, pp. 299 ff.

⁶⁴ *First Century of English Feudalism*, p. 128.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 115-19, 127-28. This, I think, is an important consideration. The older view, well presented by Vinogradoff (*English Society*, pp. 22 ff.), owed much of its confusion to the belief in the *ceorl* who acquired thegnly status along with the title to five hides of land, etc. (above, n. 53-54). Once that legend is discarded, it becomes unnecessary, with Mr. Stenton, to minimize the significance of the five-hide unit (on which see Round, *Feudal England*, pp. 44 ff.).

for lack of the fief, we discover no feudal tenure. What was the all-important element which, introduced by the Frankish rulers, transformed and recombined these common institutions of western Europe to produce, ultimately, the feudal state and feudal society? Careful analysis of the whole problem tends only to confirm the thesis of Brunner: that the revolutionary factor was the Carolingian development of heavy-armed cavalry.⁶⁷ In this connection, however, review of the English sources leads to a very natural query. As far back as our information extends, the Anglo-Saxon warrior was equipped with helmet, coat of mail, shield, spear, and sword; and he often had a horse also. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, if not earlier, all better-class persons were expected to ride on any expedition, whether peaceful or warlike.⁶⁸ A thegn without a mount would be an absurdity. Why, then, was there no heavy-armed cavalry in pre-Norman England?

It is no adequate reply, though an undoubted fact, that Anglo-Saxon warriors merely rode to the battlefield and then dismounted to fight on foot—like the thegns of Byrhtnoth at Maldon or those of Harold at Hastings. The Franks had at one time done the selfsame thing. What had induced them to change their traditional tactics? The solution to the problem, I suggest, will be found by studying the introduction of the thoroughbred charger or *destrier*, whose size and strength permitted the mailed warrior to fight on horseback. I have, unfortunately, no positive evidence to offer and can only hope that some such evidence may be found by a better-qualified investigator. Over thirty-five years ago William Ridgeway threw out a hint to the effect that “the history of Teutonic chivalry is closely bound up with that of . . . great horses.”⁶⁹ He had little to say about the perfection of the breed except that it was presumably a cross between the Libyan horse, long famous for its speed, and the stockier horse of Europe. But Mr. Tarn has now shown that it was the Nesean horse of Media, probably of mixed Asiatic and Libyan blood, that made possible the heavy-armed cavalry of the Parthians and so, eventually, the *cataphracts* of the Byzantine Empire.⁷⁰ Since neither the Romans, the Gauls, the Germans, the Huns, the Moors, nor the later invaders of western Europe had such a cavalry force, it seems necessary to conclude

⁶⁷ See *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLVI, 794 ff., 807. When that article was written I had not realized that we must distinguish between great horses and ordinary horses.

⁶⁸ For the early use of the arms mentioned and also of the horse, our best source is *Beowulf*; see Chadwick, *Origin of the English Nation*, pp. 186 ff. References to the later sources will be found in Liebermann, II, 614 ff. (“Pferd”).

⁶⁹ *The Origin and Influence of the Thoroughbred Horse* (Cambridge, 1905), p. 331. I have looked in vain for any further consideration of this matter in all the standard histories of warfare, including the last edition of C. W. C. Oman’s *Art of War in the Middle Ages* (London, 1924).

⁷⁰ W. W. Tarn, *Hellenistic Military and Naval Developments* (Cambridge, 1930), pp. 73 ff.

that the Franks learned the new military system from the east. How they did so is a subject that richly deserves consideration by a competent scholar.

In whatever fashion the great war horse may have been imported into Frankish Gaul, I am convinced that the importation was of prime significance. According to the *Iudiciae Civitatis Lundoniae*,⁷¹ an English horse under Aethelstan was worth as much as four oxen; but the *Lex Ribuaria*⁷² proves that, as early as the first half of the eighth century, the equipment of a Frankish warrior—including horse, shirt of mail, leggings, helmet, shield, lance, sword, and sheath—was valued at over twenty-two oxen. If the mounted thegn of England was an aristocrat, how much greater an aristocrat was the contemporary knight of France!⁷³ The average peasant, whose movable wealth fell far short of a plow team, could no more hope to be a warrior of this sort than to wear the papal tiara. Even if, in time of emergency, someone provided him with the necessary arms and mount, he would be only a peasant on horseback—and hardly that, we may be sure, as soon as he encountered the enemy. It would, indeed, be very difficult for the ordinary gentleman, however proud his ancestry, to maintain his social superiority unless he could obtain a fief in return for knightly service.

That the Norman Conquest produced a military revolution in England has never been disputed. Yet it was once the fashion to interpret the change as primarily one of tactics. Stubbs evidently believed that knighthood was “a translation into Norman forms of the thegnage of the old Anglo-Saxon law”; that knights’ fees were “gradually introduced”; and that Norman castle-building was a matter of relative insignificance.⁷⁴ These beliefs now seem impossible. The battle of Hastings, we have learned, resulted in vastly more than the substitution of a mounted for a dismounted army in the field. The military system of the Conqueror necessitated the deliberate establish-

⁷¹ VI Aethelstan, 6 (Liebermann, I, 176).

⁷² *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Leges*, V (Hanover, 1889), 231.

⁷³ Mr. Stenton (*First Century of English Feudalism*, pp. 132 ff.) has raised the interesting question of why popular usage continued to favor the English *cniht* instead of adopting the French *chevalier*. His explanation, that the old word primarily denoted a servant in a great household and so could be applied to the Norman vassal, is not wholly convincing. I suggest, rather, that in 1066 the thegn was essentially a twelve-hundred man, a member of the aristocracy that suffered irretrievable defeat at Hastings, whereas the *cniht* was a man who, though not of thegnly rank, had come to be a mounted retainer. What I earlier wrote (*Borough and Town*, see index) about thegns and *cnihtas* may stand in some need of revision; but I still hold to my principal contention, that such persons seem to have been much the same whether they lived in a borough or not. That a merchant could acquire thegnright, as alleged in *Gebyncdo* (above, n. 54), I greatly doubt. Liebermann, II, 681 (“Thegn,” 8-9), states that a gildsman in an Anglo-Saxon borough, though styled a thegn, enjoyed only an ordinary man’s wergeld. But the eight pounds to be collected for the killing of a thegnly gild-brother at Cambridge was obviously a compensation to the gild, not to the kindred: B. Thorpe, *Diplomatarium Anglicum Aevi Saxonici* (London, 1865), pp. 611-12.

⁷⁴ Stubbs, I, 283, 285; and see index under “Castles.”

ment of feudal tenure with all its far-reaching implications. Among the latter was the immediate dominance of England by a French aristocracy whose life was governed by the code of chivalry. And chivalry, to the knight of that age, meant the completion of a long and arduous professional training, rather than a web of romantic fancy.⁷⁵ The castle, too, was a military innovation of first importance, constituting an indispensable center not only of local defense but likewise of routine administration, whether royal or seignorial.⁷⁶

To summarize the social results of the Norman Conquest is a much harder task, because so much depends on our understanding of historical developments in the previous centuries. To me, at any rate, the belief in a primitive democracy of warrior-peasants seems to rest on little more than faith. If the *ceorl* was likely to be an economic dependent in the seventh century, we need no elaborate argument to account for his later depression through the king's alienation of fiscal and judicial rights.⁷⁷ And if the Anglo-Saxon nations were from the first dominated by a dear-born class of fighting men, we do not have to worry about the origin among them of a landed aristocracy. From the making of this fundamental distinction it does not, of course, follow that during all these troubled years there were no intermediate groups and no shifts of personal status. We must not ignore the independent

⁷⁵ S. Painter, *French Chivalry* (Baltimore, 1940); Stephenson, *Mediaeval Feudalism*, chap. III.

⁷⁶ Pioneer work in this connection too was done by Round: *Quarterly Review*, CLXXIX (1894), 27 ff.; *Archaeologia*, LVIII (1902), 332 ff. See also E. S. Armitage, *Early Norman Castles of the British Isles* (London, 1912); Stenton, *First Century of English Feudalism*, chap. VI; Painter, in *Speculum*, X (1935), 321 ff., and in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XL (1935), 450 ff. Although Mrs. Armitage's work is an invaluable guide for the student of early castles, I have objected (*Borough and Town*, pp. 53 ff.) to her interpretation of the word *burh* and to her use, shared with Mr. Stenton and many others, of the phrase "private castle." Her suggestion (p. 74) that the separate fortification of the motte indicated the lord's fear of his own garrison shows no lively appreciation of vassalage. And the view, so often expressed elsewhere, that castles were built all over England to keep down the conquered population, seems a little far-fetched. Were castles any less plentiful on the other side of the Channel?

⁷⁷ Maitland's argument for the gradual depression of the *ceorl*—and to the best of my knowledge no one has improved on it—ascribes decisive influence to the acquisition by great lords of the king's *feorm* together with various powers of justice and police (Maitland, pp. 318 ff.). In this connection it is significant that Liebermann, who accepts Maitland's central thesis, agrees with Seebohm, Chadwick, and Corbett that the *feorm* or *fostre* of the dooms and land books was not a royal tax but an ordinary rent in produce: Liebermann, II, 264 ("Abgabe"); Chadwick, *Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions*, pp. 100 ff.; Corbett, *Cam. Med. Hist.*, II, 568. As to governmental subjection of the peasantry, it was undoubtedly important; yet one might suppose that, on the whole, it was the result rather than the cause of economic subjection. There is, finally, the alleged reduction of the average family holding from 120 to 30 acres—the solution given to the puzzle of the hide by Maitland's third essay. The puzzle, nevertheless, remains; for what Bede and the early records meant by *terra unius familiae*, or any of its equivalents, is still an unknown quantity. The hides of even our oldest sources may very well have been fiscal or military units like those of Domesday: Corbett, "The Tribal Hidage," in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, New Series, XIV (1900), 187 ff.; Chadwick, *Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions*, pp. 363 ff.; Hodgkin, II, 401. The problem is not one peculiar to England; see the very suggestive remarks of Marc Bloch in the *Cambridge Economic History*, I (Cambridge, 1941), 230 ff., 265 ff.

freeman, the legal owner of a few acres, who commended himself to a powerful lord and still retained control of his land; or the superior peasant, such as a *geneat* or *radcniht*, who might hope to attain high rank in the service of a wealthy patron.⁷⁸

Whatever the minor differences of legal and economic condition in Saxon England, they did not long survive the Norman Conquest, which established the rule that a gentleman must have had a chivalrous education and that a rustic, unless he could offer acceptable proof to the contrary, was an unfree villein. The precise fate of the old aristocracy we do not know.⁷⁹ Domesday shows that by 1086 it had all but disappeared from the scene, and there is no profit in speculating on how many thegns were able to escape degradation by adopting a knightly career. Such a person would be quickly absorbed into the Norman-French baronage. As to the agricultural population we are better informed. The merging of all *servi* and *villani* in a single class, though it abolished Anglo-Saxon slavery, legally debased thousands of agrarian tenants. Many a sokeman or small farmer, on being attached to the manor of an unscrupulous adventurer, must have suffered real hardship.⁸⁰ Yet, for reasons already stated, the arbitrary formulation of a comprehensive law could have made little change in the life of the average peasant. What the courts now recognized as serfdom was actually no new thing in England.

Stubbs, as we have seen, held that feudalism "when applied to governmental machinery" had a "disruptive tendency." "The great feature of the Conqueror's policy is his defeat of that tendency."⁸¹ William tried "to reign as an English king."⁸² At Salisbury in 1086 he demanded from all freeholders "little more than . . . the oath of allegiance which had been taken by the Anglo-Saxon kings." Wishing to preserve the national customs and laws, "he kept up the popular institutions of the hundred court and the shire court." He maintained the ancient *fyrð* and the ancient *witenagemot*. By amalgamating the offices of earl and *comes*, of sheriff and *vicecomes*, he avoided the proved evils in both the English and the Continental systems. He prevented the growth of "hereditary jurisdictions" and, by scattering the lands in baronial fiefs, of "contiguous territorial accumulations." "In the department of finance . . . he retained the revenues of his predecessors and added new imposts of his own"—such as the feudal reliefs, aids, and tallages.⁸³ Now that Round, Adams, Stenton, and others have so thoroughly criticized

⁷⁸ Stenton, *First Century of English Feudalism*, pp. 124 ff.; Corbett, *Cam. Med. Hist.*, III, 402 ff.; Vinogradoff, *English Society*, pp. 69 ff.

⁷⁹ Stenton, *First Century of English Feudalism*, p. 115.

⁸⁰ Vinogradoff, *English Society*, pp. 410-30.

⁸¹ Stubbs, I, 277-78, 290.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 280.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 289-303.

these opinions in the light of an improved knowledge of the sources, all I have to say on the subject can be reduced to a few supplementary notes.

In any appraisal of feudal institutions, it seems to me, we must hold to a realistic standard. The truly important question is not whether the feudalism of England was "ideal,"⁸⁴ but how it worked; and how, as a practical system of government, it did or did not resemble the feudalism of the Continent. As long as historians continue to compare the English monarchy of about 1100 with the fictitious French monarchy of the same period, so long will they misunderstand the significance of feudalism. It is only by considering the actual states known to William the Conqueror that we can hope to appreciate his policy. His model of government was assuredly Norman rather than English, and the fact that he had not previously borne a royal title was unimportant. Within his principality he was a true successor of the Carolingians, for he there enforced the regal authority which they had long abandoned. To say this is to imply much more than that one of his ancestors had been recognized as duke by Charles the Simple in 911. Neither the legal concept of a duchy nor familiarity with feudal custom had been brought by the Vikings to the coast of France. Whatever they came to know of such matters they must have learned from their neighbors. Back of the Norman monarchy in England lay centuries of Frankish tradition. Before we attribute any remarkable peculiarity to the new structure, we should do well to compare it with Flanders and Anjou, as well as with Normandy.⁸⁵

Much of what Stubbs believed has been so thoroughly disproved that there is no need of referring to it again. His argument that William preserved the old *fyrð* and the old oath of allegiance is essentially correct, but is so because the *arrière ban* and the general obligation of fealty to the ruler of the state was included in Frankish custom. The duke of Normandy, like the count of Flanders, always maintained the principle that formal war, as distinguished

⁸⁴ See the interesting thesis of Adams (*Origin of the English Constitution*, pp. 186 ff.), which I find much preferable to the one he originally supported (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLVI, 810-12). I should take exception only to his definition of feudal justice and to his overemphasis of theory. The substance of his argument is a description of feudal practice rather than of feudal ideals. And was it not out of such practice that the English constitution developed? To find the "germ of the constitution" in any theory of feudalism is, I believe, to place undue reliance on a preconception.

⁸⁵ For such an undertaking we have available three splendid books: H. Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique*, Vol. I (5th ed., Brussels, 1929); L. Halphen, *Le comté d'Anjou au XI^e siècle* (Paris, 1906); C. H. Haskins, *Norman Institutions* (Cambridge, Mass., 1918). On the other principalities of feudal France only too little work has been done, although there are numerous brief sketches; see especially the chapters of Halphen in *Cam. Med. Hist.*, Vol. III. Mr. Stenton (*First Century of English Feudalism*, chap. 1) has shown how Norman and English custom varied in certain respects; yet such differences, when compared with the body of common custom, appear very small indeed. Until Mr. Douglas has produced more cogent evidence, I cannot accept his conclusion (*Ec. Hist. Rev.*, IX, 129) that "it must . . . always remain difficult to regard English feudalism as in any exact sense a Norman creation."

from the prosecution of a lawful feud, could only be waged in his name; that every fortress within his territory must be opened to him on demand; and that, in case of necessity, all able-bodied men were liable for military service.⁸⁶ It was likewise established practice that certain taxes were reserved to the prince, such as those levied on trade by sea. In England William was fortunate enough to inherit the Danegeld, together with a system of royal tolls; and to them he added not merely the feudal aids but also the *monetagium*.⁸⁷ So it was in the field of adjudication. The English pleas of the crown generally corresponded to the Norman pleas of the sword, which had their parallels elsewhere in France. We know much less about the ducal courts of Normandy than about the hundred and shire courts of England. If our information were more complete, the alleged difference between feudal and territorial justice might not be so clear-cut. In Flanders the earliest sources reveal a well-organized judicial system, under which the count's *châtelains* (or *vicomtes*) administered his justice in district courts, assisted by groups of *échevins*.⁸⁸ Even the local government of England takes on a French aspect after 1066, if we give it more than a superficial glance. To the Conqueror his "earls" were *comtes* in fact as well as in name, and his "sheriffs" were *vicomtes*—quite like the Flemish *châtelains* as soon as castles had been erected to serve as administrative centers in all the counties.⁸⁹

To object that such a state as I have described was not truly feudal is, in my opinion, to beg the whole question. If the greater principalities of eleventh century France were not feudal states, where shall we ever find one? A region in which a theoretical ruler permitted chronic anarchy—like the Burgundian duchy—was not a state at all. Mr. Stenton has given us a splendid picture of the Conqueror's administration, showing how it altogether depended on the loyalty of his vassals.⁹⁰ This, as I see it, was the essence of feudal government. Under feudalism the prince who could enforce his rights

⁸⁶ Haskins, pp. 22 ff., 38; Pirenne, I, 119-26; Adams, *Origin of the English Constitution*, pp. 186-91.

⁸⁷ The princely control of commerce is best shown by the charters later issued to the great towns: e.g., Saint-Omer and Rouen (Stephenson, *Borough and Town*, pp. 35 ff., 40 ff.); cf. the works of Pirenne cited *ibid.*, p. 11. The *monetagium*, a well-known tax on the Continent, was introduced into England by William I, as we know from Henry I's Coronation Charter, as well as from obscure references in Domesday (*ibid.*, pp. 100 ff.). On Continental imposts resembling the English Danegeld see E. Joranson, *The Danegeld in France* (Rock Island, 1924).

⁸⁸ Pirenne, I, 126-30; W. Blommaert, *Les châtelains de Flandre* (Ghent, 1915); Haskins, pp. 24 ff., 45 ff., 88 ff.; cf. Halphen, *Le comté d'Anjou*, pp. 98 ff. On the nature of feudal justice see my *Mediaeval Feudalism*, chap. 11; also the references in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLVI, 808. A closely related subject is the ecclesiastical authority of the prince, to which the books of Pirenne, Haskins, and Halphen all devote considerable space.

⁸⁹ See the references in the previous note; Stenton, *First Century of English Feudalism*, pp. 222 ff.; W. A. Morris, *The Mediaeval English Sheriff to 1300* (Manchester, 1927), chaps. 11-111; Painter, in *Speculum*, X, 321 ff.

⁹⁰ *First Century of English Feudalism*, chap. VII.

had, on the whole, to deserve the fealty of his liegemen. Whether a particular baron held a royal office by hereditary title, or whether that office was a legal portion of his fief, was politically of minor significance. The all-important thing was the mutual faith of lord and man, as is graphically proved by the contrast between the reigns of William I and Stephen. When, thanks to the economic changes of the twelfth century, the king was able to base his government on the employment of mercenary troops and professional ministers, England was already ceasing to be feudal.

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Censorship of the Southern Mails

CENSORSHIP is an instrument by which a society protects its vital interests in times of danger. The liberal tradition of America emphasizes the necessity of reducing the exercise of this dangerous power to the minimum consistent with national safety. A valuable case history in revealing the operation of censorship is afforded by the experience of the ante-bellum South in imposing a rigid censorship on incoming mail from the Northern states. The Southern record demonstrates the difficulty of suppressing pernicious and dangerous propaganda without at the same time destroying the literature of reform, of protest, and of sanative criticism. The recognition of such a distinction is the very heart and core of the problem of censorship.

The freedom of the mails is inextricably connected with the broader freedom of the press. Calhoun pointed out this fact in a report to the Senate on February 4, 1836, opposing a federal censorship of the mails. "The object of publishing is circulation," said this great defender of minority rights; "and [for the federal government] to prohibit circulation is, in effect, to prohibit publication."¹ If the federal government should act as a censor of the mails, it would place a formidable power in the hands of the majority party that happened temporarily to be in control of the administration. Those who fight for the precious rights of the freedom of the press and of the mails are usually minority groups who wish to propagate ideas that are repugnant to the ruling class. Seldom are these advocates of toleration for themselves, however, imbued with the spirit of tolerance, nor do they have any genuine interest in the preservation of the freedom of the press and of the mails as a democratic principle. Rather, these agitators and reformers tend to become intolerant extremists, ill-balanced and wrongheaded, whom the majority of people heartily dislike. The Northern abolitionists of the decade 1830-40, for example, were a minority group disliked both in the North and the South. They believed that slavery was the number one moral and political problem of the nation, and not a purely Southern problem. Consequently they demanded the right to use the United States mails to protest against this crying evil. But this right of using the mails for transmitting their propaganda was opposed by another minority group within the nation, the Southerners who

¹ Gales and Seaton, eds., *Register of Debates in Congress*, 24 Cong., 1 sess., XII (Washington, 1836), Part 4, Appendix, 73.

contended that their safety was involved in the issue of the freedom of the mails. The fact that a virtual censorship of the mails crossing the Mason and Dixon line was established after 1835 indicates the ascendancy of the Southern group in federal politics during the ante-bellum period. Such a censorship could not be maintained without the acquiescence of the federal government.

In the summer of 1835 the Southern people became keenly aware of a new danger that threatened the tranquillity of their social system. A powerful, concerted effort of propaganda had been launched against the Southern way of life by the abolition societies of the North.² Both the American and the New England antislavery societies had resolved upon an aggressive campaign to distribute their publications in the South. It was not the object of these societies, so they declared, to distribute such abolitionist literature among slaves or free Negroes in the South. They hoped, rather, to revolutionize public opinion below the Mason and Dixon line by scattering their radical publications "unsparingly" throughout the land of Dixie.³ Accordingly, tons of antislavery pamphlets, magazines, and newspapers were sent through the mails to prominent Southerners—justices of the peace, ministers, editors, members of Congress, state officials—in other words, the leaders of public opinion.⁴

The impact of this deluge of fervid publications on the Southern mind produced a wave of excitement and of anger. In the summer of 1835 a mob of citizens, led by ex-Governor Robert Y. Hayne, entered the post office at Charleston, South Carolina, and destroyed several sacks of mail containing antislavery pamphlets.⁵ The federal government made no effort to arrest or prosecute those who thus violated the property and the laws of the United States. The postmaster at Richmond, Virginia, announced that a number of

² Propaganda is used in this paper, according to its original definition, as the literature of propagating certain beliefs or doctrines. It is used in a neutral sense, without the modern connotation of a deliberate distortion of the truth to attain an end, or the sinister concealment of authorship. There was a great variety in the abolitionists' publications, which ranged from rational discussion to lurid emotionalism, but a common denominator in most of this propaganda was a complete failure to understand the complexities of the problem of removing Southern slavery, especially the race problem involved, and the vast social and economic dislocations that would result from a sudden abolition of slavery.

³ *Fourth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society* (Boston, Jan. 20, 1836), pp. 17-18; *Second Annual Report of the American Anti-Slavery Society* (New York, May, 1835), pp. 48-53.

⁴ The magnitude of this propaganda drive is shown by the fact that in a single year, May, 1836, to May, 1837, the American Anti-Slavery Society alone published 9,000 copies of *The Anti-Slavery Magazine*, 130,150 copies of *The Slave's Friend*, 103,000 copies of *The Anti-Slavery Record*, 189,400 copies of *Human Rights*, 217,000 copies of the *Emancipator*, as well as numerous bound volumes, tracts, pamphlets, and prints. Not all of this material crossed the Mason and Dixon line. *Fourth Annual Report of the American Anti-Slavery Society*, reprinted in *The Quarterly Anti-Slavery Magazine* (New York, July, 1837), p. 348.

⁵ Theodore D. Jervey, *Robert Y. Hayne and His Times* (New York, 1909), pp. 379-81.

the newspapers and pamphlets of the abolitionists had been mailed to his office and that he had been requested by several gentlemen of respectability to stop their circulation.⁶ Postmaster Thomas Scott, of Raleigh, received at his office some of "the Northern fanatical publications" addressed to the most respectable citizens of the capital city. He sternly withheld them from circulation.⁷ The postmaster at Orange Court House, Virginia, reported that many incendiary papers had been sent to people who did not subscribe to them and who returned them with appropriate notes on them.⁸ At Greensborough, in the rich black belt of Alabama, the circulation of copies of the *Emancipator* caused passionate mobs to arise.⁹ The grand jury of Tuscaloosa County, Alabama, returned a true bill of indictment against Robert G. Williams, editor of the *Emancipator*, published at New York, for circulating within the state "pamphlets and papers of a seditious and incendiary character, and tending to gross misrepresentation, and illicit appeals to the passions of the slaves to excite them to insurrection and murder."¹⁰ Throughout the Southern states arose a movement to establish a *cordon sanitaire* against the invasion of inflammatory propaganda. Indeed, Southerners regarded the activities of the abolition societies and the antislavery press of the North somewhat in the same light as Austria prior to World War I viewed the propaganda of the Serbian societies in Bosnia-Herzegovina.¹¹

One of the most effective measures of safeguarding Southern society from subversive propaganda was the exercise of a censorship over the incoming mails. In 1836 the Virginia legislature passed a law requiring postmasters to notify justices of the peace whenever they received incendiary publications or publications "denying the right of masters to property in their slaves and inculcating the duty of resistance to such right." The justice of the peace should then inquire into the circumstances of the case, and if he were convinced that such writings were dangerous, he should have such books, pamphlets, and other publications burned in his presence and should arrest the addressee, if the latter subscribed for the said book or pamphlet with intent to aid the purposes of the abolitionists or antislavery societies.¹² This law gave

⁶ Richmond *Enquirer*, Aug. 25, 1835.

⁷ Raleigh *Standard*, Aug. 6, 1835.

⁸ Salem (N. C.), *The Farmer's Reporter and Rural Repository*, Aug. 15, 1835.

⁹ Henry Watson, jr., to Julius Reed, Aug. 23, 1835. Henry Watson, jr., MSS. (in Duke University Library).

¹⁰ Tuscaloosa (Ala.) *Flag of the Union*, Aug. 22, 1835.

¹¹ For evidence see Resolutions of the General Assembly on Incendiary Publications, *Acts of the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina, 1835-1836* (Raleigh, 1836), p. 120.

¹² *Acts of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia, 1835-36* (Richmond, 1836), chap. 66, sec. 3. In South Carolina a somewhat similar law was passed in 1859, making it the duty of a postmaster to notify the magistrate of any person receiving abolition literature in the mail. H. M. Henry, *The Police Control of the Slave in South Carolina* (Emory, 1914), p. 162.

a single justice of the peace inquisitorial power over the mails and, by extension, a dictatorship over the kind of mental food his neighbors were permitted to enjoy. A Maryland act of 1841 commanded the grand juries to summon before them at every term of court all the postmasters in their respective counties and examine them as to whether they had received publications of an inflammatory character, "having a tendency to create discontent among and stir up to insurrection, the people of color of this State."¹³ These laws, which certainly interfered with the free transmission of the mails, never came before the Supreme Court to test their constitutionality and afford a striking example of the nonassertion of federal power.

Postmaster General Amos Kendall, who entered the cabinet of President Jackson from the slave state of Kentucky, was complaisant to Southern demands that abolition publications be excluded from the Southern mails.¹⁴ Although he admitted that he had no legal authority of censorship in this matter, he encouraged an unofficial exclusion of abolition literature from the Southern mails by individual postmasters. He adopted the Southern contention that the abolition publications were calculated to fill every family with black assassins and to repeat the horrors of Santo Domingo. He commended the postmaster of New York City for his efforts to persuade the abolition societies voluntarily to renounce sending their publications through the mails to Southern addresses and, upon their refusal of this request, his decision not to be an accomplice of "fanatics" in forwarding dangerous missiles to the South.¹⁵ In his report of December 1, 1835, he declared that the state laws against the circulation of incendiary publications should be obeyed by the officers of the general government. He also reported his action in regard to the Charleston mob, and he observed that his policy had prevented the circulation of "obnoxious" publications in the South.¹⁶

President Jackson approved thoroughly of the policy of his Postmaster General in regard to abolition publications. He wrote to Kendall: "we can do

¹³ *Session Laws of Maryland, 1841-42* (Annapolis, 1842), chap. 272, sec. 3. This law was modified the following year, so that grand juries were required to summon postmasters only when they deemed it necessary.

¹⁴ Kendall was born at Dunstable, Massachusetts, and was a graduate of Dartmouth College, but he had emigrated to Kentucky as a young man.

¹⁵ Amos Kendall to J. D. Townes of Petersburg, Va., Aug. 20, 1835, and to Samuel Gouverneur of New York City, Aug. 22, 1835. *Niles' Weekly Register*, XLIX, 7-9 (Sept. 5, 1835).

¹⁶ Report of the Postmaster General, Dec. 1, 1835, to the President of the United States. Blair and Rives, eds., *The Congressional Globe*, 24 Cong., 1 sess., II-III (Washington, 1836), Appendix, 8-9. In checking references the author discovers that apparently different libraries either bind or number early volumes of the *Congressional Globe* differently. The citations in this article are to the set in the library of Lafayette College. See *Checklist of United States Public Documents, 1789-1909*, I (Washington, 1911), 1466, for comment which applies presumably to the set in the Library of Congress.

nothing more than direct that those inflammatory [*sic*] papers be delivered to none but who will demand them as subscribers; and in every instance the Postmaster ought to take the names down, and have them exposed thro the publik [*sic*] journals as subscribers to this wicked plan of exciting the negroes to insurrection and to massacre." He declared that when such subscribers "are known, every moral and good citizen will unite to put them in coventry, and avoid their society. This, if adopted, would put their circulation down everywhere, for there are few so hardened in villainy, as to withstand the frowns of all good men."¹⁷

Jackson was a man of action, however, not content to let the matter rest with public opinion. In his message to Congress, December 7, 1835, he recommended that Congress pass a law to prohibit the circulation through the mails in the Southern states of "incendiary publications intended to instigate the slaves to insurrection."¹⁸ He pointed out that the invasion of these publications in the slave states had produced a great excitement, and that the federal post office, which had been established to promote friendly feelings between the states, was being used for an opposite purpose. This recommendation normally would have been referred by the Senate to the Post Office Committee, which was composed of a majority of members from the free states. But Calhoun managed to have a special committee chosen to consider the President's recommendation. Calhoun himself was appointed chairman of this select committee, in which slaveholders predominated.

The great Nullifier objected to Jackson's proposal of a *federal* law prohibiting the circulation through the mails of incendiary publications in the slave states. Instead he reported a bill making it illegal for any deputy postmaster knowingly to receive and put in the mail any pamphlet, newspaper, handbill, or other printed paper, or pictorial representation, touching the subject of slavery, directed to any person or post office in those states where the laws prohibited their circulation.¹⁹

In urging the adoption of this bill Calhoun drew a dark and alarming picture of the consequences of abolition agitation, and he predicted that this agitation would not only endanger the safety of the South but would also cause both sections to hate each other and thus bring about a destruction of the Union. It is clear that Calhoun was primarily concerned in stopping the anti-slavery agitation of the North, not because he had any great dread of servile insurrection, but because he feared it would eventually convert the North to

¹⁷ Jackson to Amos Kendall, Aug. 9, 1835. John Spencer Bassett, ed., *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, V (Washington, 1931), 360-61.

¹⁸ James D. Richardson, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897* (Washington, 1896), III, 175-76.

¹⁹ *Cong. Globe*, 24 Cong., 1 sess., II-III, 165 (Feb. 4, 1836).

the antislavery cause and might disturb the loyalty of Southern non-slaveholders.²⁰ His report on the circulation of incendiary publications through the mails contained the grave warning to the rich and governing classes in the North that they had an important stake in preserving the *status quo* of capitalistic society, both above and below the Mason and Dixon line, from the corroding effect of subversive propaganda. "Let those who are interested remember," he said, "that labor is the only source of wealth, and how small a portion of it in all old and civilized countries, even the best governed, is left to those by whose labor wealth is created."²¹ Calhoun was a realist in bluntly stating that in all civilized communities one portion of the people lived on the labor of another, and his argument unmistakably suggested that the industrial capitalists of New England in their exploitation of white labor were not more righteous than "the cotton capitalists" in their exploitation of black slave labor.

The method which he advocated to stop the subversive agitation of the abolitionists was by state action. The Northern states, he demanded, should suppress their abolition presses. These fanatics were engaged in a moral and religious war against the South, the most violent and bitter of all wars. The law of nations, which prohibited campaigns of hostile propaganda against a peaceful and unoffending nation, applied to the relations between the sovereign states of the Union. Furthermore, the federal government should co-operate with the Southern states to help them enforce their own laws against the invasion of incendiary publications.²² He pointed to the recognition by the federal government of its obligation to observe state quarantine laws as an example of such co-operative procedure. In an able speech before the Senate, April 12, 1836, discussing the great constitutional issue involved in Jackson's proposal of a federal law controlling the transmission of incendiary publications through the mails, he pronounced it a step toward centralization that would invade the rights of the states. Such a law "would place in the hands of the General Government an instrument more potent to control the freedom of the press than the Sedition Law itself," for it would give to the federal government the right to decide what publications were incendiary and what were not and of enforcing the transmission of those deemed not incendiary.²³ Calhoun was opposed to federal censorship of the mails partly

²⁰ Gales and Seaton, *Register of Debates in Congress*, 24 Cong., 1 sess., XII, Part 4, Appendix, 76.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² If Calhoun had lived to witness the prohibition era, he would have noted with grim satisfaction that the federal government accepted his principle and aided the dry states to enforce their prohibition laws.

²³ Richard K. Crallé, *Works of John C. Calhoun* (New York, 1888), II, 512-14.

because he foresaw the consequences that might befall Southern institutions once the antislavery forces obtained control of the national government.

Much of this excitement over the issue of incendiary publications was due to political motives. Calhoun had a deep-seated grudge against Jackson, the enemy who had thwarted his presidential ambitions and who had taken a resolute stand against nullification. Since Jackson's choice for President in 1836 was Martin Van Buren, Calhoun was eager to discredit this New Yorker in the South by attaching to him the stigma of being allied with the Northern abolitionists.²⁴ The Carolina leader saw an opportunity to unite the South by magnifying the importance of the abolitionists. Accordingly, his report on the bill to exclude abolition literature from the mails was definitely an alarmist document.²⁵ In private letters Calhoun revealed his desire to unite the South by agitating the slave question. To Armistead Burt he wrote: "We stand stronger than we ever did on the Slave question. The South is more united, and the nature of the question is better understood both north and South than it has ever been. But we must not relax. The abolitionists are numerous, zealous, and active."²⁶ Calhoun ignored the fact that the vast majority of Northern people at this period, even John Quincy Adams, did not approve of the abolitionists.²⁷

Loyal Southerners and pro-Jackson men like Senators King of Alabama, Cuthbert of Georgia, and Felix Grundy of Tennessee protested against Calhoun's making a party question out of the exclusion of incendiary publications from the mails.²⁸ Benton records a story showing Calhoun's partisan zeal against Van Buren. Calhoun and the anti-Jackson men brought about a tie vote on the engrossment of the bill concerning incendiary publications. Van Buren, the presiding officer of the Senate, happened to be absent from his chair temporarily when the vote was taken. But Calhoun called eagerly and loudly for his rival to cast the deciding vote.²⁹ The oily Albany politician, however, disappointed him by voting with the Southern senators. Subsequently, the bill was defeated by a vote of twenty-five to nineteen, in which

²⁴ Claude G. Bowers, *The Party Battles of the Jacksonian Period* (Boston, 1922), pp. 443-49.

²⁵ Francis Blair, friend of Jackson, and editor of the *Washington Globe*, pointed out the political nature of Calhoun's agitation of the slave question. W. E. Smith, *The Francis Preston Blair Family in Politics* (New York, 1933), I, 120.

²⁶ Calhoun to Armistead Burt, June 28, 1836. *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1899* (Washington, 1900), II, 361.

²⁷ Professor Avery Craven maintains that Adams concealed the fact that he was a "thoroughgoing abolitionist" to further his designs of agitation, *The Coming of the Civil War* (New York, 1942), pp. 176-77. Later the abolitionists such as Weld and Birney converted great numbers of people in the Middle West to their cause.

²⁸ *Cong. Globe*, 24 Cong., 1 sess., II-III, 37, 353 (Dec. 21, 1835; Apr. 18, 1836).

²⁹ Thomas Hart Benton, *Thirty Years' View* (New York, 1854-56), I, 587.

seven Southern senators, including Henry Clay and Thomas Hart Benton, cast negative votes.³⁰

The political press of the South undoubtedly inflamed the Southern people on this issue of excluding abolition publications from the slave states. The powerful Richmond *Whig*, for example, accused Thomas Ritchie, editor of the Richmond *Enquirer*, of "keeping the peddle soft" when writing about the Northern "fanatics" because this politician-editor feared to injure the prospects of Van Buren by a bold stand against the abolitionists.³¹ The *Enquirer* later retorted by asserting that the Whigs were trying to create an abolition panic in order to defeat Van Buren. Mr. Vincent Witcher, said the wily Democratic editor, carried in his pocket the worst pamphlets of "the fanatics" and the most odious pictures that he could obtain from Gerrit Smith, Tappan, and Co. He exhibited them to the inhabitants of Pittsylvania County "by way of frightening his people into Whiggery, as if they were so many children."³²

In July, 1836, Congress passed a drastic law reorganizing the Post Office Department, which had recently been criticized by the enemies of Jackson for corruption and mismanagement.³³ One of these laws prohibited any postmaster, under severe penalty, from unlawfully detaining in his office any letter, package, pamphlet, or newspaper and refusing to deliver the same to the person to whom it was addressed.³⁴ Such legislation should have restored to the abolitionists the right to use the mails to send their literature into the slave states. But this law remained a dead letter so far as the Southern mails were concerned and was ignored with impunity during the ante-bellum period.

The Northern public did not arise to defend the freedom of the mails. No spectacular and prominent figure appeared to fight for the removal of the censorship of the mails until 1859, when Horace Greeley unsheathed his sword to attack "Post-Office Despotism."³⁵ One important reason for this neglect was that the attention of the Northern people was focused on the dramatic battle that William Slade and John Quincy Adams were making in Congress to secure the freedom of petition in regard to antislavery petitions. The abolitionists themselves realized that "the petition strategy" had far more

³⁰ *Cong. Globe*, 24 Cong., I sess., II-III, 539 (June 8, 1836).

³¹ Richmond *Whig*, July 24, 1835.

³² Richmond *Enquirer*, Apr. 1, 1836; see C. H. Ambler, *Thomas Ritchie: A Study in Virginia Politics* (Richmond, 1913), p. 166.

³³ See William Stickney, ed., *Autobiography of Amos Kendall* (Boston, 1872), chaps. XII-XIII.

³⁴ Laws of the United States of a Public Nature, No. 64, Sec. 32, Gales and Seaton, *Register of Debates in Congress*, XII, Part 4, Appendix xxxii.

³⁵ New York *Tribune*, Dec. 28, 1859.

popular appeal to American democratic instincts than the insistence on the right to use the Southern mails for their propaganda. They concentrated, therefore, on the fight against the Gag Rule in Congress until it was abandoned in 1842. Furthermore, the vast majority of Northern people at this period were indifferent to the violation of the freedom of the mails, because they lacked sympathy for the abolitionists, whose civil rights were being denied.³⁶

An exception to the general apathy of the North was shown by William Leggett, acting editor of the New York *Evening Post*, who vigorously condemned the indirect bureaucratic censorship of the mails by the postal department. He declared that neither the federal post office nor the general government itself possessed any power to prohibit the transportation by mail of abolition tracts, but that it was the duty of the government to protect abolitionists in their constitutional right of free discussion. Although he was opposed to the doctrines and practices of the abolitionists, he proclaimed that he was still more opposed to any infringement of their political or civil rights. "If the government once begins to discriminate as to what is orthodox and what heterodox in opinion, what is safe and what unsafe in tendency," he warned, "farewell, a long farewell to our freedom."³⁷ For this courageous criticism of Kendall's ruling on the transmission of the mails, the *Evening Post* was deprived of its government patronage. The advertisement for uncalled-for letters in the New York post office was transferred to a rival newspaper.³⁸

The ablest protest in the North against the violation of the freedom of the mails was a pamphlet published at Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1836 by "Cincinnatus." "Cincinnatus" was the pen name of William Plumer, a former governor and United States senator from New Hampshire. In this document, entitled "Freedom's Defence: or a Candid Examination of Mr. Calhoun's Report on the Freedom of the Press," Plumer sought to arouse the yeomanry and the laboring men of the North to defend the freedoms of the press and of the mails, which were threatened by Southern slaveholders. Calhoun's bill and his insidious report on the circulation of incendiary publications through the mails were represented by Plumer to be a menace to the democratic spirit of America. He pointed out that Calhoun would deny the freedom

³⁶ The editor of the Philadelphia *National Gazette*, for example, condemned both the Charleston mob for rifling the mails and also the abolitionists for attempting to circulate their publications in the slave states. He printed a long article declaring that the Postmaster General ought not to hesitate to take the responsibility of excluding the incendiary publications of the abolitionists from the mails. The *National Gazette*, Aug. 8, 22, 1836.

³⁷ Allan Nevins, *The Evening Post: A Century of Journalism* (New York, 1922), p. 148.

³⁸ J. M. Lee, *History of American Journalism* (Boston, 1917), p. 223.

of the press and the use of the mails for laboring men to protest against the exploitation of labor. At great length he refuted Calhoun's analysis of a community of interest between the capitalists of both sections, as well as a close analogy between the slaves of the South and "the operatives" of the North. Calhoun justified "grinding the faces of the laboring classes."³⁹ His proposed bill on the circulation of abolition publications was a dangerous attack on the liberty of the press and on free institutions, violating the bill of rights in the constitutions even of the Southern states and preventing the free play of truth to vanquish error.

After the excitement of the 1830's, the fear of a flood of abolition publications inundating the South subsided, not to be revived to any great extent until 1856, when a bitter political campaign agitated the Southern people. One reason for this decline of alarm over incendiary publications was the fact that the Northern abolition societies abandoned their campaign of sending propaganda to leading Southerners.⁴⁰ Furthermore, this emotional propaganda was prevented from circulating in the slave states by the action of mobs as well as the censorship of the Southern mails by postmasters. Occasionally some of the abolition publications managed to pass the blockade and reach their destination in the South. The editor of the Flemingsburg *Kentuckian*, for example, noted that about a dozen copies of the *Emancipator* had been sent to the citizens of his village, and that he had received a copy marked "Read, calmly reflect, and be convinced!"⁴¹ The editor of the *Hiwassee Patriot* at Madisonville, Tennessee, declared that he had seen copies of *Human Rights* circulating in his county, an abolitionist publication that should be committed to the flames, since it had "no other tendency than to corrupt and disaffect our slaves."⁴² In 1849 some abolition publications were sent to the post office at Pendleton, South Carolina, but a mob seized the mails and destroyed the offending abolition matter, a procedure which George Prentice, the influential editor of the *Louisville Journal*, strongly condemned.⁴³

Although the danger from obvious abolition publications thus decreased, Southerners detected a more subtle method of smuggling antislavery sentiments across the Potomac and Ohio rivers in religious magazines, in literary periodicals, and in the metropolitan newspapers of the North. Consequently a movement arose in the latter part of the ante-bellum period to boycott

³⁹ *Freedom's Defence: or a Candid Examination of Mr. Calhoun's Report on the Freedom of the Press, Made to the Senate of the United States, Feb. 4, 1836*, by Cincinnatus (Worcester, 1836), p. 14. A pamphlet loaned to the writer by the courtesy of Dwight L. Dumond.

⁴⁰ G. H. Barnes, *The Antislavery Impulse, 1830-1844* (New York, 1933), pp. 100-104.

⁴¹ *Flemingsburg Kentuckian*, Mar. 30, 1838.

⁴² *Hiwassee Patriot*, Feb. 26, 1839.

⁴³ *Louisville Daily Journal*, Oct. 4 and Oct. 11, 1849.

Northern magazines, such as *Harper's Magazine*, *Putnam's*, the *Saturday Evening Post*, and the *Atlantic Monthly*, that were unfavorable to Southern slavery.⁴⁴ In 1846 a motion was passed in the Virginia house of delegates ordering the Attorney General to investigate the question whether the Baltimore *Saturday Visitor* was an incendiary publication circulating in Virginia contrary to the law of 1836. It had printed a speech of Cassius Marcellus Clay of Kentucky, a gradual emancipationist.⁴⁵ Near the close of the ante-bellum period a mass meeting was held in Taylor County, Virginia, which passed the following resolution: "Resolved, That the five *Christian Advocates* published in the cities of New York, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and Chicago, having become abolition sheets of the rankest character, we ask our Commonwealth's attorneys and postmasters to examine them and if found to be of an unlawful character to deal with them and their agents as the laws of the State direct."⁴⁶ The New York *Tribune*, under the editorship of Horace Greeley, won a premier place as an incendiary publication to be banned from circulation in a Southern state. After the John Brown Raid, Postmaster R. H. Glass of Lynchburg, Virginia, informed the editor of the *Tribune* that he would not in the future deliver copies of this paper that came to his office. This decision was based on the following reason: "I believe them to be of that incendiary character which are forbidden circulation alike by the laws of the land and a proper regard for the safety of society."⁴⁷

The general policy of the federal Post Office Department toward the circulation of incendiary publications through the mails remained unchanged from the time of Amos Kendall to the outbreak of the Civil War.⁴⁸ One of the most important statements concerning this policy was issued by the Attorney General of Franklin Pierce, Caleb Cushing, a proslavery native of Massachusetts. In 1857 the postmaster of Yazoo City, Mississippi, refused to deliver a copy of the Cincinnati *Gazette* to a Mr. Patterson, alleging that it was an incendiary publication. When the Cincinnati *Gazette* protested this arbitrary interference with the free transmission of the mails, the Postmaster General requested that Cushing give a legal opinion on the issue. The latter

⁴⁴ Raleigh *Register*, Aug. 22, 25, 29, 1855; *Southern Literary Messenger*, XXV (Dec., 1857), 472; *De Bow's Review*, XXII (Jan., 1857), 100.

⁴⁵ Lexington (Ky.) *True American*, Feb. 18, 1846.

⁴⁶ Norfolk (Va.) *Southern Argus*, Mar. 19, 1858.

⁴⁷ Wheeling (Va.) *Intelligencer*, Dec. 13, 1859; *The Liberator*, Dec. 30, 1859; see also the New York *Tribune*, Nov. 17 and Dec. 17, 1859, for other instances.

⁴⁸ See Lindsay Rogers, *The Postal Power of Congress: A Study in Constitutional Expansion*, Johns Hopkins Studies in Historical and Political Science, Ser. XXXIV, No. 2 (Baltimore, 1916), pp. 140-43. The records of the Post Office for this period ("outgoing correspondence") which are preserved in the Historical Library of the Post Office Department are fragmentary and not available to the public for examination. No "incoming" correspondence of that period has been retained in the department.

ruled that a federal postmaster was not required to deliver mail which was designed or had the tendency to promote insurrection in a slave state. He admitted, however, that the postal authorities could not take final action in determining whether the subscriber had a right to receive the newspaper in question, or whether it violated the Mississippi law prohibiting any white person from circulating publications containing sentiments, doctrines, advice, or innuendoes, "calculated to produce a disorderly, dangerous, or rebellious disaffection among the colored population." The only lawful way ultimately to decide these questions, the Attorney General declared, was recourse to the courts of the state or of the federal district.⁴⁹

Two years later a similar policy of the virtual censorship of the Southern mails was sustained by Postmaster General Holt. This Southern cabinet officer held the typical point of view of his section, that the circulation of abolition publications in the slave states was like throwing firebrands into a powder magazine. In a letter to the postmaster at Falls Church, Virginia, who had written to ask whether he should obey the Virginia law relating to postmasters and incendiary mail, Holt made the following rule:

You must under the responsibilities resting upon you as an officer and as a citizen determine whether the books, pamphlets, newspapers, etc., received by you for distribution are of the incendiary character described in the statute, and if you believe they are, then you are not only not obliged to deliver them to those to whom they are addressed, but you are empowered and required by your duty to the State of which you are a citizen to dispose of them in strict conformity to the provisions of the law referred to.

The people of Virginia may not only forbid the introduction and dissemination of such documents within their borders, but if brought there in the mails, they may by appropriate legal proceeding have them destroyed.⁵⁰

The Assistant Postmaster General, however, took a more liberal position in regard to the censorship of the mails. The postmaster of a little Virginia village, Luney's Creek, wrote to the editor of the *Religious Telescope* of Dayton, Ohio, after the John Brown Raid, that he was no longer permitted to deliver the latter publication and would burn any copies that came into his custody. The Assistant Postmaster General repudiated this arbitrary ruling. He declared: "Because a single copy of any particular newspaper contains matter decided by the state authorities to be incendiary in character, it does not, therefore, follow that any subsequent numbers of the same paper are to be condemned for that cause. Each and every number of the paper must be

⁴⁹ United States Department of Justice, *Official Opinions of the Attorneys General of the United States Advising the President and Heads of Departments in Relation to Their Official Duties*, comp. by Caleb Cushing (Washington, 1858), VIII, Yazoo City Post Office Case, 489-502.

⁵⁰ *Congressional Record*, 53 Cong., 2 sess., Vol. XXVI, Part IX, Appendix, Part 1 (Washington, 1894), p. 4.

acted upon and disposed of separately.”⁵¹ Thus he stated one of the most important principles in American censorship.

After the abnormal excitement of the John Brown Raid, postmasters wrote from remote Virginia towns to Governor Wise to ascertain what action they must take in regard to delivering the New York *Tribune* and other papers of that character. The governor referred the matter to his Attorney General, John Randolph Tucker. The latter, in reply to the postmaster of a little town in Doddridge County, quoted the Virginia law requiring postmasters to notify a justice of the peace when they thought that incendiary publications came to their offices. The justice of the peace should determine whether the paper in question was incendiary, and if it were such, he should burn it and arrest the consignee if the latter was cognizant of the incendiary character of the publication. The Attorney General declared that this state law was entirely constitutional and did not, properly considered, conflict with the federal authority in the establishment of post offices and post roads. “This Federal power to transmit and carry mail matter, does not carry with it the power to publish and circulate,” he ruled. “With the transmission of the mail matter to the point of its reception the Federal power ceases.”⁵²

The Southern censorship of the mails during the last three decades before the Civil War could be justified only on the ground that the safety of the people is the supreme law. Undoubtedly a nation, and probably a regional society, has the right to protect itself against subversive propaganda. Southerners feared that, if abolition publications were allowed free circulation in the South, eventually these inflammatory writings would fall into the hands of some brooding Nat Turner or Denmark Vesey.⁵³ Many slaves in the South could read. Although the majority of Southern states had laws prohibiting the teaching of slaves to read and write, in Kentucky, Maryland, and Tennessee there were no legal impediments to slaves’ acquiring this knowledge. Even in those states which prohibited the teaching of the mystery of letters to the slaves, a considerable number of house servants were instructed by indulgent masters.⁵⁴ An examination of over 350 advertisements for fugitive Kentucky slaves by McDougale reveals the surprising fact that in seventy-one cases the masters mentioned the fact that the absconding Negro could read,

⁵¹ New York *Tribune*, Feb. 8, 1860.

⁵² Letter of J. R. Tucker, Richmond, Nov. 26, 1859, *Cong. Rec.*, as cited in n. 50 above. Also quoted in *The Liberator*, Dec. 23, 1859.

⁵³ Clement Eaton, *Freedom of Thought in the Old South* (Durham, 1940), pp. 119-21, and chap. iv, “The Fear of Servile Insurrection.”

⁵⁴ Carter Woodson, *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861* (New York, 1915), p. 228; also Woodson’s *The Mind of the Negro as Reflected in Letters* (Washington, 1926) and *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass Written by Himself* (New York, 1941), chaps. x-xi.

which would seem to indicate that one fifth of the runaway slaves in the Upper South could read.⁵⁵

The fear of servile insurrection was only one element in the complex of motives that led to the Southern censorship of the mails. It is likely that "the cotton capitalists" viewed with uneasiness the circulation of abolition propaganda, comparable to the modern communist propaganda, that might disturb the minds of the white non-slaveholders and yeomen who were injured economically by the institution of slavery. The suppression of the circulation of Hinton Rowan Helper's *Impending Crisis*, which was addressed solely to the white non-slaveholders and not to the Negroes, whom he hated, indicated a fear among the ruling class of the South that a realistic discussion of slavery might set non-slaveholders against slaveholders. So strong, however, was the desire among the yeomanry and poor whites to keep the South a white man's country that there was little immediate danger of the development of a class struggle initiated by the dialectic of a free labor society.⁵⁶ Furthermore, the nature of the abolitionists' indictment, frequently out of line with reality and filled with the most violent vituperation of the whole of Southern civilization, was provocative of intolerance among all classes of society in the land of Dixie.⁵⁷ Southern public opinion became so inflamed over the abolitionist publications that even the most rational discussion of slavery was branded as "incendiary" and not permitted to circulate in the Southern states.⁵⁸ Thomas Ritchie, an influential leader in forming public opinion in the Upper South, who had been an avowed antislavery man at the time of the Virginia debate on emancipation in 1832, declared eight years later: "Certainly the fanatics at the North have taken the most effective means not to leave a single friend of emancipation in the Southern states."⁵⁹

The effectiveness of the Southern censorship depended partly on a remarkable unity of public sentiment within the South in regard to the abolition publications. But the co-operation of the federal postal authorities was also necessary in imposing a censorship of the mails. This co-operation was given by the administrations of Southern presidents and of Northern presi-

⁵⁵ I. E. McDougale, *Slavery in Kentucky, 1792-1865* (Lancaster, 1915), p. 79.

⁵⁶ Roger W. Shugg, *Origins of Class Struggle in Louisiana: A Social History of White Farmers and Laborers during Slavery and After, 1840-1875* (University, La., 1939), chaps. iv-v.

⁵⁷ This theme has been stated by F. L. Owsley in an essay, "The Irrepressible Conflict," in *I'll Take My Stand: The South and the Agrarian Tradition, by Twelve Southerners* (New York, 1930), and by Avery Craven in *The Repressible Conflict, 1830-1861* (University, La., 1939). For an objective point of view see H. H. Simms, "A Critical Analysis of Abolition Literature, 1830-1840," *Journal of Southern History*, VI (1940), 368-82.

⁵⁸ See Dwight L. Dumond's discussion of this subject in *Antislavery Origins of the Civil War in the United States* (Ann Arbor, 1939), chaps. ii-iv. Professor Dumond shows also how bitterly persecuted the abolitionists were in the North during the decade 1830-40.

⁵⁹ *Richmond Enquirer*, Feb. 18, 1840.

dents with Southern sympathies. It indicated among the responsible leaders of the federal government that the Southerners had a good case in demanding the exclusion of antislavery propaganda from the Southern mails. Since it was difficult to draw the line between incendiary publications and lawful literature of reform and criticism, the postal authorities took the path of least resistance and made no attempt to discriminate between the two types of propaganda. Consequently the radicals of the North found that they were denied the use of the federal mails in forwarding their publications across the frontier of the land of Dixie. When the election of Lincoln transferred the executive branch of the federal government from Southern to Northern control, Southerners feared that a hostile Postmaster General would be appointed who would try to enforce a free transmission of abolition publications through the mails and thus destroy the "dike of silence."⁶⁰

The continuity of censorship by the postal department was illustrated by the suppression of socialist and communist propaganda during World War I and during "the big red scare" of the 1920's. In this relatively modern case intolerance was a defense mechanism against a danger, the Bolshevik menace, which was greatly exaggerated in the popular mind. Censorship in war-time belongs to a different category from censorship in peacetime, but the habit of regulating expression of opinion during a national emergency is likely to carry over into normal times. In President Wilson's cabinet the Attorney General and the Postmaster General were responsive to the intolerant atmosphere of the period. Postmaster General Burleson exercised a despotic and unjustifiable censorship, practically denying the use of the mails to certain radical publications. In the Milwaukee *Leader* Case, March 7, 1921, the Supreme Court upheld this arbitrary and unenlightened use of the power of censorship by the postal department.⁶¹ Although sixty years had intervened since the censorship of the Buchanan administration, no marked progress was discernible in the *practice* of tolerance in the United States of the 1920's. Individuals such as Judge Learned Hand, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, and Professor Zechariah Chafee had made notable contributions to the *theory* of toleration, but they were dissenting voices in the postwar world. Ordinary human nature seemed to be incapable of practicing tolerance, save in unessential or indifferent matters.

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⁶⁰ Carl Russell Fish, *The American Civil War* (London, 1937), pp. 44-45.

⁶¹ Zechariah Chafee, jr., *Free Speech in the United States* (Cambridge, 1941), pp. 42-51, 98-99, 298-305; J. R. Mock, *Censorship, 1917* (Princeton, 1941), pp. 148-52, 230-31; F. L. Mott, *American Journalism* (New York, 1941), pp. 605, 623-25.

* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

Medieval Liberty Poems

THE call for liberty was increasingly heard during the last centuries of the Middle Ages. There were enough of "liberties," particular privileges for church and nobility or for individual magnates and cities. But liberty had to be fought for. Heretics fought for religious liberty; peasants and laborers for social liberty; whole countries for national liberty. Those were the centuries of the Renaissance, struggling for the liberation of thought and soul. There was no conscious unity of all the different movements for freedom. Together, however, they were preparing the modern battle for the principle and building the foundation of the general idea of liberty.

Perhaps nowhere will you find this general idea more clearly expressed in medieval literature than in some poems in praise of liberty, the climax being reached by a Swedish liberty song dating from 1440. There is a literary history behind this song, embracing more than one country, which it will be interesting to pursue. Besides, it has been suggested that the Swedish song was inspired by an old fable well known in all of western Europe; and the history of this fable may illustrate a mental development leading up to the general claim of freedom.

I

The fable is that of Phaedrus about the wolf and the bandog. The wolf is first attracted by the delightful food of the dog, but on discovering that in return the dog has to go enchained, he prefers the precarious life of his liberty.

In the Middle Ages, just as in modern times, the Phaedrian fables were generally in use as the first textbook of Latin because their language was so exceedingly simple and clear. Very early their iambi were transcribed into prose, and a prose collection of fables, ascribed to a certain Romulus, dating perhaps from the tenth century, became the source of most later adaptations of the work. As a textbook it had to compete with a new metrical transcription, made by Avianus about the year 400; but, as the fable of the wolf and the bandog is omitted in his collection, it does not concern us here.

In the original of Phaedrus the moral of the fable is stated very briefly in the heading: "*Quam dulcis sit libertas, breviter proloquar,*" and in the last answer of the wolf to the dog: "I do not want to be a king if I cannot be free."

Now, such a statement would have no kind of incendiary effect in medieval society, partly because none but free men would read such a fable, and partly because, though it was well acknowledged that the condition of the free was better than that of the serf, everybody conceived this state of matters as natural and unchangeable.

In the Romulus form of the fable, which for centuries was the only one known to medieval man, the moral of liberty was almost completely wiped out. Certainly, the heading was kept. But then, the fable was given an introduction that taught quite a different moral. It said: "All liberty is an act of well-doing. For, in free men there is savagery (*sevitia*), in serfs virtue and glory. Often we see that serfs may shine while free men are good for nothing." The final answer of the wolf was much more elaborated than in the version of Phaedrus, but in fact it stressed more the natural desires of a wolf:

I need not enjoy what thou art praising. I want to live free in whatever happens to me. I will roam where I like, no chain keeps me, no matter prevents me. The roads are open to me in the fields, the accesses in the mountains; I am afraid of nothing. I am the first to relish the cattle; by cunning I escape the dogs. Thou may live as thou art accustomed to, I shall live as I am.¹

It seems clear that such a presentation of the fable might not be apt to evoke any kind of revolutionary tendencies in any class of society. It conformed perfectly to the social system in existence and had no appeal for liberty.

In the second half of the twelfth century two Englishmen independently undertook to transcribe the fables into new verses. One of them was the schoolmaster Alexander Neckam. In his version the heading said: "*Quod libertas ceteris bonis preferenda sit.*" But the moral which he added said nothing of the kind. It was a simple distich announcing that "this may be regarded as said to him by the man who wants to suffer hardship for the sake of a rapacious belly."²

Much more popular and much more important was the contemporary rewriting in Latin distichs by the man who generally is quoted as Walter of England, Gualterius Anglicus, archbishop of Palermo during the last decades of the twelfth century. In his form, at last, the fable became a frank proclamation of liberty. He elaborated the declaration of the wolf into a program of principle:

¹ Léopold Hervieux, *Les fabulistes latins depuis le siècle d'Auguste jusqu'à la fin du moyen âge*, II (2d ed., Paris, 1894), 220-21, 441, 500; Hermann Oesterley, *Romulus: die paraphrasen des phaedrus und die aesopische fabel im mittelalter* (Berlin, 1870), pp. 73-74. (Oesterley followed the Grimm school in not using capitals.)

² Hervieux, II, 260, 414.

I am not in such a need that I should want to make myself a serf for the sake of my belly. A free beggar is richer than a wealthy serf. The serf does not own either himself or his property, whereas a free man does. Liberty, the eminently sweet good, contains all other goods; if that is not added, I cannot relish the food. Liberty is the food of the soul and its true enjoyment; whoever is rich in that, cannot be richer. I shall not sell what is mine for such infamous advantage; who sells his wealth, makes himself poor.

To this eloquent declaration was further added the following moral by the author: "Liberty cannot well be sold for all the gold in existence; this heavenly good excels the earthly wealth."³

Walter's versified collection of fables, much more simple in style than that of Alexander Neckam, did not completely crowd out the older Romulus text but was, nevertheless, in great favor over all of western Europe. In many manuscripts the moral of the fable of the wolf and the bandog was extended with two additional distichs, saying: "Liberty is a resplendent and invaluable thing, by no price can it be divided. Doubled ambiguity (*amphibolia*) makes a serf out of a master; servitude generally is called the image of death."⁴

Walter's collection was even made the foundation of translations into French and German. At an earlier time, however, a French translation was made more or less directly from the Romulus text. The author was Marie de France, who lived in England in the second half of the twelfth century and made it her task to compose French poetry for the magnates of the country. She herself asserts that she based her translation on a collection of fables in English; but despite some good philological reasons in support of this assertion, I doubt the truth of it. Anyhow, her verses render the text of the Romulus collection.

In the oldest manuscripts of her work, the fable of the wolf and the bandog offers no particular "moral" at all. And the words put into the mouth of the wolf do not elaborate the idea of freedom to any notable extent, although she does not follow the purely "wolfish" arguing of Romulus. She makes the wolf say: "What! Is it so that one may not walk around but by mercy? Then thou may remain, I'll go away; I shall not choose the chain. It is better being a wolf in freedom than living with wealth in chains, as long as one still may have a choice. Go to the village, I'll go to the woods."⁵

Other manuscripts add a moral, and there are even two forms of it. The shorter one says: "This example teaches us that he is a very foolish man who puts himself in submission or in servitude; for that is a bad custom that lets no man live freely in peace according to his talents." The longer text says:

³ *Ibid.*, p. 344.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 363.

⁵ Karl Warnke, ed., *Die Fabeln der Marie de France*, Bibliotheca normannica, VI (Halle, 1898), 90.

From this example one can hear that they are unfortunate, those free men who are foolish enough to maintain their ribaldry. They would not have meat and clothing in plenty so that they might leave the taverns and not abandon themselves to gambling. It is better being poor and naked, ribalding in the country and badly kept, than being in peace and well protected by serving the knights.⁶

The moral in this case is rather ambiguous. On the one hand, it represents freedom as preferable to servitude, but, on the other hand, it blames the life of robbery and debauchery. This latter moral is stressed in Italian translations made after the work of Marie de France. These translations, contained in manuscripts from the fourteenth century, offer a continuation of the fable, telling that after having returned to the forest the wolf was captured by peasants who whipped him cruelly and then took him off to hang him. On the way to the gallows the wolf encountered the dog and said to him: "Brother, I ought to have trusted in thee, for it would have been better to me to live in safety than in perpetual danger of life." Here the moral adds: "From this example we may see that liberty is the best thing existing, provided that man takes care that he does not allow himself to run into foolishness and wilfulness; if he cannot remain moderate, it would be better for him to serve a master who keeps him in awe and does not let him live in bad judgment."⁷

Here, then, the idea of freedom is made conditional.

Neither Marie nor her translators made use of the new Latin text composed by Walter of England, who unequivocally praised liberty as opposed even to wealth in servitude. The collection of Walter, however, was popularized by other translations, the earliest ones being two in French, one from the thirteenth century, the other from the fourteenth. This latter, made for a queen of France, Jeanne of Burgundy, in the 1340's, has elaborated the moral beyond the additions of the Latin text. It pictures the man who disgraces himself by running around bowing to temporal and spiritual princes in order to get hold of some fat position but who, nevertheless, would not give any kind of assistance to poor people. Undeniably the translator in this way exceeds considerably the frame of the fable. At any rate, he keeps to the fundamental idea of Walter that a man should not make himself a serf. But it must be admitted that the idea has become somewhat blurred by the adding of irrelevant argument.⁸

In conclusion we have to state that the medieval interpretation of the fable of the wolf and the bandog did not give unequivocal support to the

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 332.

⁷ Murray Peabody Brush, ed., *The Isopo Laurenziano* (Columbus, 1899), pp. 148-50.

⁸ Kenneth McKenzie and William A. Oldfather, eds., *Ysopet-Avionnet: The Latin and French Texts*, in *University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, Vol. V, No. 4 (Urbana, 1919, printed 1921), pp. 160-61.

idea of liberty. The editing of Walter of England seemed to express it most clearly, even if his readers did not always display a perfect understanding.

II

In fact, only in the fourteenth century did the conditions become such as to evoke a more general demand for liberty. And naturally we shall expect to find the idea expressed by the leaders of the Renaissance.

Dante, the champion of national independence, did not say much directly about liberty in his poetical works. Only in the first song of his *Purgatorio* do a couple of lines attest to his appreciation of it. They refer to the younger Cato, who preferred death to living after the Republic had perished:

Freedom he seeks, which is so dear,
as knoweth he who gives up life therefor.⁹

Petrarch, the real literary leader of the Renaissance, often praised liberty in his letters, more than once offering the instance of Vergil, stating that even exile was to be preferred to the loss of liberty.¹⁰ One of his most famous letters has been called for itself, justly enough, "a hymn to liberty." This letter was written to the people of Rome in 1347, after Cola di Rienzo had proclaimed himself tribune of the Republic. It says:

Liberty stands in your midst. There is nothing dearer, nothing more earnestly to be desired; and never are these facts more clearly understood than when liberty is lost. . . . If sane thinking has reasserted itself together with liberty, let each one of you choose death itself to the loss of liberty. Without liberty life is mockery. Keep your past servitude constantly before your eyes. In this way, unless I err, your present liberty will be somewhat dearer to you than life itself. In this way, if at any time it should become necessary to part with the one or the other, there will be no one (provided a drop of Roman blood still flows in his veins) who will not prefer to die a freeman rather than to live a slave.

Petrarch goes on to compare servitude with the life of captured animals. Of these comparisons I quote only one: "The caged bird makes sweet music for its jailer. But if an outlet be given, it will take wing with eager flight."¹¹

It is worth while to notice the appeal to pride in their ancestors' fight for freedom, with which Petrarch supports his exhortation to the Romans. That was an appeal that more than once he sounded also in poetry, most particularly in his canzone *Italia mia*, addressed to the Italian princes to inspire them to unite to fight against the German emperor:

⁹ *The Divine Comedy*, the Italian text with a translation in English blank verse by Courtney Langdon, II (Cambridge, 1920), 6-7.

¹⁰ *Epistolae rerum familiarium*, lib. II, litt. iv.

¹¹ I quote from Mario Emilio Cosenza, *Francesco Petrarca and the Revolution of Cola di Rienzo* (Chicago, 1913), pp. 17-19.

O Latin blood of old!
 Arise, and wrest from obloquy thy fame.

 . . . the ancient flame
 is not extinguish'd yet, that raised the Italian name.¹²

This canzone was probably written about 1345 under the impression of the inner strife in Italy following the battles about Parma. Four years earlier he had written a canzone specifically concerning the liberation of Parma from the tyranny of the della Scala, *Parma liberata*, and that may well be characterized as a song on liberty.¹³ There he pictures the oppressed and miserable people, driven to extremity, seeing no hope of assistance, bitten by the impious and ferocious teeth of tyranny, and then the contrast:

Liberty, sweet and longed for,
 little appreciated by those who never lost it,
 how dear thou ought to be to brave people!
 Thou givest us again our hope,
 thou who in hard exile soften our pains,
 a calm harbour for all my thoughts.
 Without thee I should not see for long
 wealth and honor and whatever man may wish.
 With thee even a hovel refreshes the soul.¹⁴

Here, too, Petrarch recalls the past of the nation, the tyrants of Sicily, the devotion of Cato, and he exults in the glory of the moment:

The fatherland, freed out of the claws of tyrants,
 governs itself in liberty and peace,
 healing her ancient injuries,
 resting her tired limbs,
 thanking the supreme mercy,
 praying that her state of grace may be eternal.¹⁵

The freedom of Parma did not last long. When Petrarch came there again in 1345, he found it in the middle of general war, and he had to flee the city precipitately. In the letter in which he told the dramatic story of this flight, he expressed anew his love of liberty, "which I always demand in all my prayers, embrace with all my desire and shall follow to the utmost on land and on sea."¹⁶

In the poem about the liberation of Parma, I point out the idea that only

¹² *The Sonnets, Triumphs, and Other Poems of Petrarch*, translated into English (London, 1901), pp. 125-26.

¹³ He did not include this canzone (*Quel c'ha nostra natura in sè più degno*) in his collection of poems and songs, possibly because he did not regard it as perfectly elaborated, or perhaps because of the subsequent loss of liberty. I quote from a separate edition, published by Francesco Berlan, *Sceltà di curiosità letterarie* (Bologna, 1870), disp. CIX.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 89, 104.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 168-69.

¹⁶ *Epist. rer. fam.*, lib. V, litt. x.

the loss of liberty makes the value of it really felt. That is a notion that later often turns up again. On the whole, I think his feeling for liberty forms the mental background of the praise of liberty by later poets.

III

A true hymn to liberty we then find in the epic of the Scotch archdeacon, John Barbour, about the fight for the freedom of Scotland led by Robert Bruce. In this work, written about 1370, the story is often interrupted by lyrical or rhetorical effusions regarding themes like love and women, despair, and manly valor. First of all these lyrical interludes stands (Bk. I, vss. 219-74) the praise of liberty. The background was the English occupation of Scotland after John Balliol had been defeated and deposed in 1296. Master John then pictures how King Edward put officers of the English nation over the country, how these officers outraged the Scots, took what they pleased, and did as they pleased. He exclaims:

Alas! that folk that ever was free
and in freedom wont for to be,
through that great mischance and folly
were treated then so wickedly
that there fails these judges were.
What wretchedness may man have more?

After thus having referred to the former freedom of the nation, the author bursts out in a dithyramb to freedom:

Ah! freedom is a noble thing!
Freedom makes man to have liking;
freedom all solace to man gives;
he leaves at ease that freely lives!
A noble heart may have no ease
nor elles naught that may him please,
if freedom fails; for free liking
is yearned over all other thing.

He then develops the idea that the man who always has been free cannot fully appreciate the value of freedom; but he who has experienced thralldom will know that freedom is worth more than all the gold in the world. If here the author introduces an argument that we are acquainted with from Petrarch, the last sentence recalls the moral of Walter's fable, and he continues with a statement that might be borrowed from the same source, namely, that a thrall has nothing that is his. Such a phrase, however, is so general and so obvious that it could well be original with the author. And in the continuation he evidently does go his own way. There he takes up for

consideration the argument that, he says, was discussed by clergymen about the conflict of obligations, between the bondage of the thrall to his lord and that to his own wife. He affirms that the sacred bond of marriage lays upon man the hardest duty, and nothing can illustrate the evil consequences of thralldom more than the fact that it may collide with man's obligations toward his wife. The conclusion is, therefore, that "thralldom is much worse than death"; thralldom makes a man suffer during his whole life, whereas death "annoys him but once." And so he winds up:

Shortly to say, is none can tell
the whole condition of a thrall.¹⁷

Although a part of this arguing for liberty sinks down to rather subtle argument, the thesis on the whole is developed with energy and eloquence, and the opening lines are filled with so much sentiment as to make them true poetry.

IV

Much more profoundly poetical is the liberty song that was composed in Sweden in the middle of the fifteenth century. The question then was: Scandinavian union under a Danish king, or national independence? In the 1430's a man of the lower gentry, Engelbrekt, had united farmers, miners, and townspeople in victorious rebellion against the oppression of the representatives of the foreign king. Engelbrekt had been murdered by a nobleman who was his personal foe. Now arose the question whether Sweden should receive a new foreign king or choose its own ruler. In that situation, in the winter of 1339-40, a friend of Engelbrekt's, Bishop Thomas of Strängnäs, wrote a poem telling the whole story of the national hero and concluding with an urgent call to the Swedish people to maintain its independence. This admonition embraces ten verses, each of six lines, in a meter influenced by Latin hymns. For a long time it was regarded and published as a particular poem about liberty.¹⁸ But recently it has been proved to be the conclusion of the poetical story about Engelbrekt.¹⁹ That does not, however, diminish its national or historical value, and it has justly received a promi-

¹⁷ John Barbour, *The Bruce*, ed. by Walter W. Skeat (Edinburgh and London, Scottish Text Society, 1894), I, 10-12.

¹⁸ Gunnar Olof Hyltén-Cavallius and George Stephens, *Sveriges historiska och politiska visor* (Örebro, 1853), pp. 120-23.

¹⁹ Erland Hjärne, in *Historisk tidskrift för Finland*, 1919. This magazine I have not been able to locate in the United States; I know the reference only from a brief mention in Henrik Schück and Karl Warburg, *Illustrerad svensk litteraturhistoria*, I (3rd ed., Stockholm, 1926), 441.

ment place among the national songs of Sweden, the only literary product of the Swedish Middle Ages still living and appealing to popular sentiment.

The song opens with the admonition to act:

O, noble Swede, stand firm and fast
and mend the breaches of the past,
thou mayst not bow to fright.
Risk life and limb for liberty
to set thy home and country free.
Lord God with thee will fight.

Then comes the comparison with birds and beasts who all defend their nests, the more so rational man—he must rather be free than another man's thrall. The comparison may well be original with the author, the idea quite naturally representing itself to a champion of liberty. Just as well, however, it may have been taken over as a part of the common property of the age. A contemporary author, the French pamphleteer Alain Chartier, who in 1422 published a passionate call for national unity in the defense of France, asserted that the law of nature must move a man to fight for his native country, and he meant that rational beings could not shirk this law that was obeyed even by dumb beasts: "The birds defend their nests with beaks and claws, the bears and the lions guard their caverns with their hides and their teeth."²⁰

All the following verses are a eulogy to liberty, beginning with the general statement:

Better than freedom nothing may be found,
even though seeking the world around,
to whom freedom is well worthy.
Wilt thou well thyself uphold,
then love freedom more than gold,
for freedom giveth honor.

In this verse we may observe an idea that may be borrowed from the moral of Walter's fable, the appreciation of liberty in relation to gold. But that is, so far as I am aware, the only idea, and that a very general one, that may connect the song of Bishop Thomas with the old fable.

The next verses contain poetical comparisons that seem to have no sources in previous literature about liberty but may have been inspired by biblical images. In one verse freedom is likened to a tower that must be defended if you would not become miserable; in another verse, to a city that will lose its safety when losing liberty. Further, the author asserts that peace

²⁰ Alain Chartier, *Le quadrilogue invectif*, ed. by E. Droz (Paris, 1923), pp. 10-11.

without liberty cannot last. Therefore he warns to keep hold on liberty; if you let it loose, it will flee away like the gerfalcon. He says:

This my advice: hold freedom dear,
of that thou must be sure and clear
it is a loss to miss her.
Peace and home-rule she carries along,
joy and pleasure is her song
to all who seek her shelter.

In this latter verse there is a weak reminiscence of the idea expressed by Petrarch and by John Barbour, that the loss of liberty conveys the right understanding of her worth. But it seems impossible to trace a positive connection.

The last verse of Thomas' poem concludes with the statement that liberty is a safe harbor:

Freedom protects both high and low.
Hence freedom ought to be honored.

In the beginning of the poem it is possible to perceive a notion of liberty as belonging in particular to people of high social standing. But at the end liberty is pictured as a general value to all people. That was in full agreement with the program of Engelbrekt's rebellion, and it puts the whole poem on a broader plane as a true song of liberty. It sums up the battles of the last centuries of the Middle Ages as an inheritance to the coming ages.

HALVDAN KOHT

Washington, D. C.

* * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * *

General History

A HISTORY OF HISTORICAL WRITING. By *James Westfall Thompson*, Sidney Hellman Ehrman Professor of European History (Emeritus), the University of California, with the Collaboration of *Bernard J. Holm*, Assistant Professor of History, the University of Maryland, Former Research Associate in History, the University of California. Volume I, FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE END OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. Volume II, THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1942. Pp. xvi, 676; ix, 674. \$14.00.)

THIS book may perhaps surprise, or even disturb, those critics who make a practice of judging a book from its first and last sentences, for Professor Thompson begins by declaring broadly that "Man is the only creature who is aware of and interested in his past," and concludes some 1,300 pages later that "the historiography of the Slovene lands is almost nil, and has as yet produced no notable historian." Between these two statements, however, lies a rich account of what historians in lands more favored than Slovenia have done—their lives, their writings, their important contributions to our knowledge of history, and even some account of the social and intellectual forces which helped shape their characters. Hundreds of historians are marshaled in array, from the first appearance of historiography in the ancient Orient, through classical antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance, down to modern times. Attention is also given to writers outside the main line of western European development, with brief discussions of Syrian, Arabic, Persian, Armenian, and even Mongol historians, but by deliberate policy no living historian or American is included in the long parade. Part of chapter xxxvii, entitled "The Age of Erudition," was read as Professor Thompson's presidential address at the Chicago meeting of the American Historical Association, shortly after his lamented death in September, 1941, and was subsequently printed in this *Review* (XLVII, 225-44).

The author is not always clear in his own mind as to whether it is his task to discuss the historians living at a certain period or to examine the sources of our knowledge of the history of that time. When dealing with modern times he writes largely of scholars who studied the history of times earlier than their own, but for the medieval period he has written what amounts to a critical study of the sources. He is concerned almost exclusively with showing which medieval writers can safely be relied upon by modern historians of the Middle Ages, even discussing charters and other written documents which are valuable to such students but which certainly cannot be classified as the work of historians. This cataloguing and

criticism of the sources will of course be helpful to future students working in the field, but a history of historiography is hardly the place to look for it. The only part of a medieval chronicle which Thompson considers of importance is that describing events contemporary with the author; if he bothers to mention the date at which the chronicle begins, he hastens to add that "of course" everything the author wrote about times before his own is "worthless." In fact, he seems to hold it against these chroniclers that some of them betrayed that human characteristic of being "aware of and interested in" their past. In a statement (I, 298) which is truly amazing when coming from the pen of a professional medievalist, he remarks, "Thanks to the fact that the Church never dominated in the East as in the West, Byzantine historians did not . . . seek to write the world's history from creation or the deluge, but were interested in the history of their own times." This statement is far indeed from being true, yet it is as illustrative of the author's attitude as is his quotation (I, 279), at the end of a laudatory paragraph about Matthew Paris, that this historian was "the thirteenth-century editor of the *Times*." It is not high praise of a historian to say that he was a superior journalist. The early parts of a chronicle are of course based on secondhand information and full of mistakes, and no modern student of ancient history would think of turning to them for information on his field; yet these are the parts which were history for their author and his contemporaries and which presumably should receive the attention of a historian of historiography. It was by improving upon them that modern scientific history developed, not by improving upon the journalism of the later parts. And while the present reviewer is no medievalist, he has been under the impression that it sometimes made a good deal of difference in the Middle Ages what leading people thought, correctly or incorrectly, about their past, about the history of the Jews and the Romans, about Caesar, Augustus, and Constantine, and above all about the history of the Christian church.

The most distressing feature of Thompson's book is the large number of minor errors it contains. For example, he has contrived to introduce no less than ten misstatements into the first nine lines of his account of Josephus (I, 105). It is true that these errors are often trivial and that they are especially numerous in the early chapters dealing with the ancient historians, who were rather outside his special field; but they are to be found everywhere, and they ruin the book as a work of reference. Future writers will be very ill-advised if they repeat a single statement from it without careful verification.

Nevertheless, Professor Thompson's book is an interesting and valuable piece of work. It is based upon extraordinarily wide reading, and it is filled with that contagious enthusiasm for learning for which he was famous. While parts of the book are necessarily rather perfunctory catalogues of titles, others are brilliantly written sketches which awaken a real interest in the historians whom the author admires—including such varied types as Ordericus Vitalis, Sarpi, and Giesebrecht, to mention three out of many. The chapters dealing with the various renaissances, when a "new history" was being proclaimed, are always suggestive and stimulat-

ing. Perhaps, however, the author is at his best when dealing with periods of erudite research, such as that conducted by the Maurists in the seventeenth century or by the school of Ranke in the nineteenth. Much as he admires erudition, however, Thompson reserves the highest prizes for those who excelled in literary presentation. He quotes (II, 300) Lord Acton as reporting having once heard Stubbs agree with Creighton and Mommsen agree with Harnack that the world's greatest historian was Macaulay. Thompson himself awards first place to Gibbon, with Ranke as his only close competitor. He expresses his admiration for the great English historian in the formal account of his life and works (II, 74-90) and in countless references to him elsewhere—though the reader should be warned that Thompson's numerous footnote references are usually not to Gibbon, as they seem to be, but to Bury's notes on Gibbon's sources. Such praise stands in pleasing contrast to the supercilious treatment given Gibbon by Fueter, who dismissed him in a few lines, along with such forgotten worthies as Schlözer, Spittler, and Schmidt, as being a mere disciple of Voltaire! This egregious misjudgment by the Swiss professor is worse than the worst mistake that Thompson ever made. The present reviewer yields place to none in admiration of Gibbon, appreciation of whom might cover a multitude of sins. It is painful, therefore, to record having noted a full dozen errors in Thompson's account of the author of the *Decline and Fall*.

Holm's part in the book also deserves mention. In the preface he is given credit for "the research and writing of fifteen chapters"—those beginning with chapter XLVI and dealing largely with the period since 1848—and for parts of other chapters and for revising the manuscript. Though nineteenth century historiography has been rather thoroughly covered by Fueter, Gooch, and other recent writers, these chapters show much greater skill than would ordinarily be expected of a graduate assistant. Like Thompson, Holm tries to mention everyone—even though he sometimes finds nothing to mention, as in the case of the historiographically nonproductive Slovenes.

University of Illinois

J. W. SWAIN

THE HISTORY OF QUAKERISM. By *Elbert Russell*, Dean Emeritus of the Divinity School and Professor of Biblical Interpretation, Duke University. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1942. Pp. xxv, 586. \$3.00.)

DR. Elbert Russell has produced the first complete one-volume history of the Society of Friends, covering its latest developments and incorporating the findings of the most recent scholarship. Throughout his work the author has aimed not only to give a narrative of the Quaker movement but also to show the effects on it of current religious trends and to picture it as a part of the general religious history of the period. Although at times he gives the impression of presenting a too compact and insufficiently digested succession of facts, many aspects of the book show excellent analysis and a clear insight into the issues involved. His chapters dealing with "The Founder of Quakerism" and "The Principles of Friends," in

the first section, are especially good, as are his assessment of the role of Fox as leader rather than founder and his analysis of the problem of individual versus group authority in the early controversies. Some, however, would consider Quakerism as a culmination of the mystical ideas of the spiritual reformers contemporary with the Luther-Calvin movement, as opposed to Dr. Russell's viewpoint that it was the "most protestant phase of Protestantism."

The author gives a very good picture of the middle period of Quakerism, characterized by its "peculiar people" complex, quietism, and a general aloofness from the Wesleyan Revival in England and the Great Awakening in America. His statement as to the withdrawal of the Friends from the Pennsylvania Assembly in 1756 would, however, seem to be inaccurate in view of the fact that in 1765 almost one third of its membership was Quaker and in 1768 over one third.

In the final section, on the period since 1827, the author has treated the highly controversial issues resulting from the impact of the evangelical movement on the society with marked fairness and understanding. Such is especially the case with his chapters on the Great Separation of 1827-28 and its effects and the rise of the pastoral system in American Quakerism. Yet he holds the rather extreme opinion that the English Friends were as influential in preventing violent revolution during the democratic changes in England between 1830 and 1870 as was the Wesleyan Revival in a similar way during the revolutionary movements at the end of the eighteenth century. Although the book maintains a good balance in space devoted to English and American Quakerism, respectively, insufficient attention is given to the rise and significance of Continental European Quakerism after the war of 1914-18.

Notwithstanding the scholarly nature of this work, several historical and editorial errors occur, the most notable of which are the confusing of the Great Pardon of 1672 with the General Pardon of 1686 (p. 147) and giving the title of chapter xxii as "Causes of the Separation of 1927-1928" instead of "1827-1828." At the same time one must emphasize the contribution which Dr. Russell's book makes to modern religious historiography and its uniqueness as the only well-rounded one-volume treatment of the history of the Friends.

Friends University

ARTHUR J. MEKEEL

BENJAMIN FURLY AND QUAKERISM IN ROTTERDAM. By *William I. Hull*, Howard M. Jenkins Research Professor of Quaker History in Swarthmore College. [Swarthmore College Monographs on Quaker History, Number Five.] (Swarthmore: Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College. 1941. Pp. xvi, 314. \$3.50.)

THIS book, which should be read with the author's other monographs on Dutch Quakerism, splits into two parts. The first is a sort of biographical appendix to *William Penn and the Dutch Quaker Migration to Pennsylvania*, where Furdy appears only as Penn's chief agent on the Continent; the second is a parallel study

to *The Rise of Quakerism in Amsterdam*, tracing the Rotterdam Meeting from its birth in the 1650's to its death in the 1820's.

Furly is presented as an Englishman who, already a Quaker convert, emigrated in his twenties to Holland, where he combined successfully a liking for learning and a bent for trade. He emerged as Quakerism's unofficial amabassador to the Netherlands: a prolific translator of Quaker pamphlets, an organizer of missionary activity, a controversialist with other sects in matters doctrinal, and a negotiator with the state in matters legal. To Furly's house in Rotterdam came the great of Quakerdom—Fox, Penn, Barclay—on their Continental journeys; to him also came the non-Quaker great who had leanings to the left—Locke, Algernon Sidney, the third earl of Shaftesbury. Locke's letters to Furly are extensively quoted and, with their rather charming chat about family and business affairs, they portray a relationship at once intimate though historically not very significant. Professor Hull amply demonstrates that Furly was not simply a land agent with a talent for advertising but a man of broad culture; yet Furly's fame still rests on his colonizing activities for Penn.

The second half of the book, though ostensibly a mere footnote to denominational history, is perhaps the more interesting in that it shows a group grappling with the extraordinarily difficult task of setting up, in an alien land and on a non-authoritarian basis, an enduring organization. The author provides a wealth of detail for tracing the several stages of the sect's development in Rotterdam: the first stage of attracting attention and establishing a Meeting; the second, where by persuasion alone this Meeting had to be subjected to some measure of control by the central organization in London; and the third stage of attempted revival when the initial impetus was gone.

The question naturally arises: why did English Quakerism survive when Dutch did not? It is thus doubly unfortunate that the volume is posthumous. One would have liked, of course, to see the author's revising eye catch the mistake in the place of John Lilburne's death and suppress some irrelevant detail. But these are little laments: the larger loss is that probably no one now alive possesses in like measure the knowledge of both English and Dutch Quakerism with which to explore this comparison.

Washington, D. C.

JOSEPH W. MARTIN

GEORGE KEITH (1638-1716). By *Ethyn Williams Kirby*, Formerly Assistant Professor of History at Wells College. [The American Historical Association.] (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1942. Pp. vi, 177. \$3.00.)

THE searcher after facts about the life of George Keith has hitherto been pretty much limited to encyclopedic articles and allusions to him in histories of Quakerism. Dr. Kirby's book is welcome as the first study of Keith composed on a scale sufficient to give a detailed narrative of his life and an analysis of his

numerous writings. It is a scholarly volume, carefully edited and equipped with index and elaborate bibliographies.

Keith, though fourteen years younger than George Fox and "convinced" of Quakerism in 1663, some fifteen years after the movement got under way, was still one of the leaders among the first generation of Quakers and remained a member for a period of thirty years. Born a Scotch Presbyterian and carefully educated, a man of much ability and zealous energy, he brought to Friends a theologically trained mind and a near fanaticism for the right as he saw it that made him an important figure. In 1677 he took part in a missionary journey in Holland and Germany with a party that included Fox, Barclay, Penn, and Benjamin Furly—the greatest Quakers of the day. In 1685 he came to America, where his zeal for dogma and clear definition of procedure brought him into difficulty with the Philadelphia Meeting, and he became the head of a separatist group, the "Christian Quakers," which found many adherents. He returned to England in 1693, and, seeking the support of London Friends, was disowned not so much for his theological views as for his quarrelsome and intolerant spirit. Here, too, he organized a separatist group; but finding himself less and less in sympathy with Friends, he turned against them. And in 1702, having joined the Anglican church, he returned to America for the specific purpose of undermining Quakerism and establishing the Anglican faith. He labored incessantly, with a good deal of effect, for two years, and then returned to England, where he spent the rest of his days as rector of a small church in Sussex, attending to his parish duties and occasionally continuing his attacks on the Quakers.

Keith thus had a colorful career. Up to the time of his change to Anglicanism he was counted one of the Quaker leaders; and indeed his abilities and devotion earned him such a distinction.

Dr. Kirby's monograph is painstakingly documented and shows careful use of much source material not heretofore used with such fullness. Indeed, the story occasionally suggests too much the mere chronicling of the facts of his life. Perhaps it fails adequately to reflect the unco-operative and obstinate contentiousness which Keith displayed in both Philadelphia and London. He was an able and interesting personality, and one who writes of his career might well feel and express sympathy; but, nevertheless, the present book does not show prejudice in his favor. It is a valuable and long-needed contribution to the history of the religious movements of the period.

Swarthmore, Pennsylvania

THOMAS K. BROWN, JR.

THE HUGUENOTS, FIGHTERS FOR GOD AND HUMAN FREEDOM.

By *Otto Zoff*. Translated by *E. B. Ashton* and *Jo Mayo*. (New York: L. B. Fischer. 1942. Pp. vii, 340. \$3.50.)

THE author of this stimulating book is a Czech and a Catholic who in pre-Hitler days won recognition abroad as a result of his publications in the varied

fields of history, drama, and art. The rise of the Nazis, however, considerably changed the course of his life. From the first he apparently saw in Hitler an enemy of God and human freedom. In 1933 he ended his career as a dramatist in Central Europe when he refused to allow any of his plays to be produced under the Nazi regime. Wisely he left Germany in 1935, going first to Italy, then to France, and finally, in 1941, to this side of the Atlantic.

In the Americas the author naturally became interested in those people who in the early days had ranged themselves on the side of freedom and progress against authoritarian rule. Of these, the children of French Huguenots were especially important. For, he writes, "To them, as the sons of Puritans, the [American] Revolution meant but a renewal of an earlier struggle. They, too, saw in America a haven, perhaps more than any other Colonial group, because it had proved itself to be a refuge from as cruel a persecution as was ever visited on a religious and political minority" (p. 2).

In his book Mr. Zoff gives us an unusually vivid and impartial account of the long and bitter struggle between Catholics and Protestants in sixteenth and seventeenth century France. In doing so, he brings out the roles of the weak "boy-kings," the unscrupulous queen mother, and the ambitious feudal lords in the evolution of the struggle. He describes the rise of the Third Party—the Politiques—after the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day. He then turns to the bitter war between the Catholic League and the Huguenots. High point in this struggle was the assassination of the last boy-king—Henry III. The death of this unfortunate ruler paved the way for the rise of Henry of Navarre, Huguenot leader and head of the Bourbon dynasty, who as a result of his conversion to the Catholic faith became Henry IV. The author also gives us a description of the wise and moderate rule of this king, emphasizing the grant of toleration to the Huguenots by Henry IV in the famous Edict of Nantes. Finally, Mr. Zoff reaches the last act of his story—the decline of the Huguenots. He shows how they were deprived of political security by Cardinal Richelieu and how, with the end of political Calvinism in France, the way was prepared for the annihilation of French Protestantism by Louis XIV.

But, writes Mr. Zoff, the "Grand Monarch" failed to convert or to kill all of his Huguenot subjects. Thousands of them fled to Switzerland, to Holland, to the Germanies, to England, to the Cape of Good Hope, and to the New World. Wherever they went they never abandoned the first principle of their ancestors: "to let their faith and their generous philosophy with its libertarian and egalitarian ideas, guide their daily lives" (p. 334).

The reviewer enjoyed reading the acceptable translation of the work. It is true that the book is not the result of intensive investigations in the archives of France. It is based on a rather limited selection of printed volumes on various aspects of the subject, and, in the opinion of the reviewer, does not do justice to the economic and social aspects of the subject. Moreover, there are a few minor errors of fact. Despite these limitations, the work gives us a striking picture of a period of

intolerance and cruelty that resembles in many ways the age in which we live. In doing this, the author has contributed something worth while.

University of California

FRANKLIN C. PALM

THE CHRISTIAN APPROACH TO THE MOSLEM: A HISTORICAL STUDY. By *James Thayer Addison*, Sometime Professor of the History of Religion and Missions in the Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Massachusetts. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1942. Pp. x, 365. \$3.75.)

THE greatest challenge to the Christian missionary is the Moslem, who is "harder to convince and convert than any other type of non-Christian." This book is a historical study of this baffling problem. It was the author's desire to include a general historical survey of all Christian missionary efforts to approach Mohammedans, but finding this task too great, he has made "the record not comprehensive but selective." The first twelve centuries are reviewed rapidly, and much fuller treatment is given to Protestant missions in the most important Moslem countries, others being relegated to brief, statistical appendixes. Quite properly, Professor Addison has relied chiefly on the phases of missionary activity that he knows thoroughly. His purpose, as he frankly says, is to "examine what the past reveals and what the present has to offer" that can contribute to the missionary enterprise of converting the Moslem world.

The outline of the first twelve centuries of the relations of Islam and Christianity is the result of careful reading of secondary works. A few mistakes may be noted. Urban II did not "proclaim a crusade first at Piacenza" (p. 30), and the University of Montpellier was not "founded" in 1288 (p. 44). Cyprus was not conquered by crusaders in 1310 (p. 47). Hulagu had a Christian wife, but what evidence is there that he professed to be a Christian (p. 59)? The Ottoman Turks receive credit for forcing Western Europeans to discover a sea route to the East and this is supported by quotations from a recent book (p. 61). There was more missionary spirit in the West during the later Middle Ages than the author has found in his reading.

For his chapters on recent Protestant missions the author has made extensive study of all available materials, especially missionary literature. Without giving a continuous narrative of missionary activities, Professor Addison shows very clearly the change that has taken place in the approach to the Moslem. The orthodoxy of the earlier missionaries was as rigid as that of the Mohammedans, who seem thoroughly to have enjoyed dialectical debate. It was better, the missionaries learned, to give up such frontal attack and resort to an indirect approach consisting of education, distribution of literature in translation, and medical service. For such social work the missionaries deserve great credit, but, as the author shows, it has not resulted in the conversion of many Moslems.

No one who has any knowledge of the Moslem world will blame the missionaries for such meager results. The Moslem is as firm in his faith as the

Christian. Furthermore, Mohammedans are bound together in a religious brotherhood and a social system, the solidarity of which must be broken before missionary efforts can have much success. The process of Westernization now going on in the Moslem world should remove some of the barriers which have always faced the Christian in his effort to approach the Moslem.

In his conclusion Professor Addison gives a realistic summary of the problem with suggestions for future work. His book contributes to our understanding of the Moslem, and diplomats, as well as missionaries, should read it.

University of Texas

F. DUNCALF

AN APPRAISAL OF THE PROTOCOLS OF ZION. By *John S. Curtiss*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1942. Pp. vi, 117. \$1.00.)

THE Protocols of the Elders of Zion were, so far as we know, first published in 1903, in a newspaper in the Russian language, in the city of Kishinev. Paul Krushevan, the editor of the paper, a well-known anti-Semitic leader, asserted they were an outline, stolen from some Jews, of a Jewish plot to obtain control of the world. Since then they have been republished from time to time in books in the Russian, German, English, French, Spanish, and Italian languages. For thirty years they have been used in attempts to prove the existence of a widely extended Jewish plot to gain control of the world. And thus they have played a part in efforts to stimulate and justify attacks upon Jews in many countries.

Were these Protocols drawn up by Jews, or were they written by men who resorted to the sinister means of misrepresentation in order to discredit the Jews? That is the question with which this little book deals. Professor John S. Curtiss has made a thorough examination of the matter. In the first chapter of the book he gives the contents of the alleged Protocols. In the second chapter, using only external evidence, only what has been learned from the testimony other than that of the document itself, he gives us the answers and explanations of the sponsors of the Protocols to the many questions that at once arose as to the authenticity of the document. The trustworthiness of the Protocols is then submitted to another test. In the third chapter, using internal evidence, the author of the book makes a careful examination of the document itself. He uses the scalpel of analysis skillfully. And as the result of his dissection every intelligent and impartial reader must surely be convinced of the spurious nature of the document, that it is the invention of an enemy of the Jews. The little book, however, goes still further. Other matters are dealt with, such as the likely sources of some of the ideas contained in the Protocols; the evidence brought forward in a trial in Bern, in which it was claimed that the Protocols are a forgery and are therefore banned by the law from circulation in Switzerland; and a comparison, in parallel columns, of passages from a book written in French and published in Brussels before the first appearance of the Protocols that are strikingly similar to passages in the latter.

Professor Curtiss' book proves the forgery and the unreliability of the Protocols

completely. No intelligent and fair-minded reader need be concerned with this document any further, save as it may still be used, unfortunately, to arouse fear and hatred in the minds and hearts of ignorant persons. For this service we owe thanks to the author. As a supplementary book to be used by students of historical method, however, though it displays the skill of a competent craftsman, it is unavoidably lacking in the revelation of living personages. There is nothing here of the very truth and inner life of history. And, therefore, it will not be very attractive to undergraduate students looking forward to the teaching and writing of history.

Palo Alto, California

EDWARD M. HULME

VAN LOON'S LIVES. Written and illustrated by *Hendrik Willem van Loon*. (New York: Simon and Schuster. 1942. Pp. xxii, 886. \$3.95.)

To readers familiar with Mr. Van Loon's previous profitable ventures in the dilution of history no comment on this volume is necessary. This contribution is perhaps more Van Loony than any previous one. The tip-off is the title. As a delicate compliment the author and publisher recall the fact that Plutarch once did something along the same line. The *mise en scène* is simple and clever. Guests out of the past are invited to dinner in pairs each of successive Saturday evenings. Erasmus was a natural as first guest and co-entertainer because he was born in the same Dutch town of Veere and looked like the author, especially his hands, a conclusion the author reaches after studying Dürer's representation of Erasmus and von Breis's photograph of himself. Again the delicate, generous, self-effacing touch! And both had an unhappy childhood in towns they detested later. Further, Erasmus had some wit and knowledge of languages and would be helpful as an interpreter when, for instance, the Empress Theodora turned up and surprisingly enough spoke Greek. In all forty-four persons make their appearance, a motley crew from Confucius, Emily Dickinson, Louis XVII to Jefferson. You learn at each session at least one thing about the guests, what the author thought they would like to eat. The research in the kitchen is more in evidence than the scholarship in the dining room. Robespierre, of whom Hitler is "an exact copy," was passionately fond of oranges (note for lecture on the French Revolution), and Jefferson liked spoon bread and broccoli (attention of Dumas Malone and Carl Becker). Theodora of Byzantium and Elizabeth of England are joint guests. The past of the chorus-girl empress is treated with restrained innuendoes, and Elizabeth is born on the right side of the dead line for legitimacy after Ploetz has guided the author through Henry VIII's marriages. Elizabeth has hard work to get the author's attention off Mary of Scotland and turns out to be an old harridan who pulls up her skirts and declares she knows no geography not in Shakespeare (shades of Raleigh, Drake, Howard and Frobisher and the queen who gave the world "its first glimpse of that curious institution known as the British Empire"). They spend the evening discussing knitting and female underwear, author,

Erasmus, and the two regal ladies, except as Elizabeth, after slapping the cook and being slapped by him on the buttocks, jitterbugs with him and the author floats around with Theodora in his arms, other details omitted.

Enough. This book will be a best seller. It gives the "human touch" to characters and to the buying public's pocketbook. Stuffy historians will be expected to recommend it to students in college and high school classes as supplementary reading. It has been acclaimed by newspaper critics, for history has its fifth columnists. One, following a tip in the jacket blurb, proclaims its writing "an act of high moral courage on the author's part," a book "that brings back reason and hope, because it holds up the banner of idealism." It will "help form the spiritual soldiers of the era that stands before the door." Now everybody with the price can read *Van Loon's Lives* and know what men are dying for in Stalingrad and on the Solomon Islands!

G. S. F.

12 DECISIVE BATTLES OF THE MIND: THE STORY OF PROPAGANDA DURING THE CHRISTIAN ERA, WITH ABRIDGED VERSIONS OF TEXT THAT HAVE SHAPED HISTORY. By *Gorham Munson*. (New York: Greystone Press. 1942. Pp. 280. \$3.50.)

It may have taken a second World War to bring us to our senses in the contemplation of propaganda. Today even the dim-witted have achieved in the face of national danger an emotional kinship with the propaganda of their own national group. It wasn't always so.

Not so long ago propaganda was one of our popular scapegoats or hobgoblins. The late twenties produced the Ponsonby-Grattan-Barnes school of thought, which emphasized the propaganda fakery in World War I. Its adherents were legion. The unmasking of the power trust with its under cover "educational" campaign on behalf of public utilities coincided with the attack on the munitions makers (call this latter the Nye-Engelbrecht-Hanighen approach). These schools had their converts. In the early thirties a cynical public could trace its ills (through propaganda) to the imperialists, economic royalists, and industrial tycoons.

Can it be wondered at that propaganda was regarded as a selfish or deceitful or dishonest means of pushing people around?

Mr. Munson's book shows that we have turned the corner in our analysis of this slippery word, propaganda. This is not to say that propaganda isn't resorted to by power hierarchies or hard-faced individualists. It means only that we are at last relating propaganda to the social background or national culture of which it is a part. Subjective definitions give way to ideological understandings, and moralistic concepts are swept into the discard.

Some will quarrel with Mr. Munson's insistent preoccupation with what he calls "great propaganda." It isn't clearly admitted by Mr. Munson that he is a disciple of Benjamin Kidd; nevertheless, the author indicates that the great

propagandists sought to disintegrate or strengthen the social fabric and thus finally affect the individual. The great propagandists are interested in a larger purpose than selling electric power or steel plate for battleships. The target of the "great propagandist" is no less than the *control of the mind of mankind*. Having controlled the mind, the propagandist can modify or remix the cultural heritage with "stunning rapidity."

Paul the Apostle, Tom Paine, the authors of the Declaration of the Rights of Man, Karl Marx and Engels, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Zola, Lenin, Wilson, the author (or authors) of the Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion, Hitler, and Mussolini are all listed as great propagandists. The history of each manifesto or campaign with which each is associated is described. As a case book on propaganda this volume is excellent. Finally, it makes an honest attempt to view propaganda as a social force and not as something simply to shiver over or bark at.

University of Minnesota

RALPH D. CASEY

PROPAGANDA BY SHORT WAVE. Edited by *Harwood L. Childs* and *John B. Whitton*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1942. Pp. xii, 355. \$3.75.)

It was inevitable that this series of studies on war propaganda by radio should be published, following the systematic monitoring conducted by the Princeton Listening Center from December, 1939, to the spring of 1941, when the Federal Communications Commission took over the job. For seventeen months a group of analysts faithfully recorded and studied the day by day outpourings of European short-wave publicity. Their findings, or the analyses of persuasive arguments used by the belligerents, are reported in eight essays by the editors and by John H. Herz, Philip E. Jacob, Daniel Katz, Bruno Foa, Arturo Mathieu, and Edrita Fried. This is a noteworthy contribution because it bridges a gap in the chronicle of propaganda efforts during the present war.

The two decades preceding the war were a testing period for radio propagandists. Mr. Whitton and Mr. Herz introduce the findings, therefore, by pointing to the use made of radio to publicize President Wilson's Fourteen Points, to spread and consolidate the influence of the Soviet position in Russia, to facilitate the Japanese invasion of Manchuria, the Spanish Civil War, the courting of the Arabs, and the Nazi revolution.

The United States made little use of its short-wave facilities. The French, to their sorrow, thought little of the function of radio broadcasting. The British carried on a dignified program with comparatively little concern for mass appeals. But the Axis Powers, rationalizing their defeats, carefully studied propaganda techniques and developed a deep faith in the use of radio as an instrument of national policy.

In succeeding essays the theory and techniques of radio propaganda in the belligerent countries since December, 1939, are analyzed and explained. Nazi, British, Italian, and French themes and appeals are dissected and interpreted. The

ups and downs of atrocity propaganda by the Nazis in this war show that "sales resistance" to this appeal has developed widely since the first World War. The point is made, too, that the short-wave broadcasts beamed to the United States have not been appeals to action but attempts to persuade. The radio is credited with particular effectiveness in this field.

Mr. Childs cites numerous examples to show that the listening audience in the United States is small and that European short-wave broadcasts to the United States have had little effect on American opinion. He agrees with the viewpoint that this situation will be continued only if the integrity of our news sources is sustained and if a co-ordinated and astute program of radio broadcasts at home and abroad raises the hope of a better future.

Boiled down to specific conclusions, the essays give one the impression of a potent and fearful force let loose in the world. But the reader is also impressed with the thought that the last word has not yet been spoken about the ultimate effectiveness of propaganda by air waves. It is not yet proved that the "scientific" techniques of the Nazis helped them to ultimate victory. Perhaps they put too much faith in "propaganda." Maybe a more modest appraisal of the ultimate worth of propaganda by short wave would have been better for Germany. For propaganda issues are not developed in a vacuum. They feed on present or latent attitudes, desires, convictions. Without fertile ground to germinate the seeds of propaganda they may be hopelessly ineffective.

Later chapters, added to this volume, will furnish the answers. Nevertheless, this book, along with other contemporary volumes, initiates a running story which in this day of rapid and pervasive communications systems must be studied closely by nations determined to survive and to assume leadership in the world.

Washington, D. C.

RALPH O. NAFZIGER

Ancient History

EXCAVATIONS AT OLYNTHUS. Part XI, NECROLYNTHIA: A STUDY IN GREEK BURIAL CUSTOMS AND ANTHROPOLOGY. By *David M. Robinson*. With the Assistance of *Frank P. Albright* and with an Appendix on Skeletons excavated at Olynthus by *John Lawrence Angel*. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology, edited by David M. Robinson.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1942. Pp. xxviii, 280. Plates LXXI. \$15.00.)

EVERY successive volume on Olynthus tells us more of what the classical polis really was like (see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLIV, 580-82; XLVII, 824). The present volume first describes one by one in serial order 598 graves, dating from *ca.* 500 to 348 B.C. This is, I believe, the largest number of graves of the classical period ever excavated at any one site. Historians will note a simultaneous mass burial of forty-four persons in three large graves; the date is *ca.* 425 B.C.; one of the forty-four

was a child, a few were women, the rest were men; the only spearheads found in graves at Olynthus were two in this burial, and the whole suggests casualties in a battle (pp. 70-72, 75-77, 163-65, 199-201). Add that the number of dead is not too small for an ancient battle (*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, LII [forthcoming], "Corinthiaea, II"). Practically all the other burials were single. Isolated two kilometers away, one chamber tomb was discovered, well built (of re-used blocks, however), painted, expensive. Only one elaborate stone monument was found (also of re-used blocks), and only two stone sarcophagi. Otherwise the three cemeteries were full of nothing but poor burials, the bodies being protected by cheap wooden coffins, or a few roof tiles, or a vase (especially in the case of children), or nothing whatever except a cloth. If there were grave markers, they were wooden and were gone in a generation or so (this solves a problem about Corinth; *ibid.*, Part V); burial overlies burial in utter confusion; even the mass burial of the forty-four was forgotten after a generation or two. Thus the obsession with regularity evident in the checkerboard plan of the famous residential quarter (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLIV, 580-82) was not re-echoed in the resting places of the dead. They lay meanly in chaos.

Two large facts emerge. (1) The classical Greeks were not ridden by superstition. One has the impression that they were not afraid of the dead. The diversity of the burials, with cremation and inhumation existing side by side and no apparent reason other than mere whim for preferring one to the other, surely argues an advanced state of beliefs in classical Olynthus. The orientations of the burials also vary, though a definite preference lingered for the east-west direction, head at the east (pp. 139-43). Four coins or fewer to pay Charon were found in the mouths or elsewhere in the graves of only sixty-six of the 644. This brings us to (2) the second main fact; *viz.*, the classical Olynthians were frugal in their burials. At Olynthus only 55 per cent (p. 206, *cf.* p. 174) of the graves contained anything at all in the way of gifts to the dead or "grave furniture." A very few bits of gold were found, and no silver. Practically all of the furniture is cheap. Here again Olynthus is typical: this, as well as much else, is made clear by four excellent chapters of commentary (prepared with the assistance of F. P. Albright), which make up the best account in print of Greek burials in the classical period. Solon had legislated against extravagance at funerals; enlightenment and "common sense" had helped—except at Athens itself. This divergence by the Athenians themselves is not mentioned: it is not perhaps generally realized. In the fourth century B.C. Attica came to have hundreds of expensive burial plots built of large blocks and surmounted by costly marble sculpture. In 316 B.C. Demetrius of Phalerum ended all this. The reason why the Athenians had indulged in this extravagance was not superstition or affection alone but chiefly ostentation. Were the Olynthians and most other Greeks modest or poor? Not altogether poor: one Olynthian could pay 5,300 drachmai for a typical house. Modest *perhaps*: the sole monument, of re-used blocks, may have been built by the city; and the distant, expensive chamber tomb was underground. The houses of the living have some

fine, showy appointments, however, and I suspect that custom, also perhaps law, were the essential factors.

There are two additional features which complete the volume. J. L. Angel contributes skull measurements with an eye to racial affiliations. His technique inspires confidence in a reviewer who can claim only a very moderate acquaintance with what is involved. The conclusions are necessarily hedged with warnings that the data are few. As a foretaste it is stimulating. Albright publishes the first conjectural restored map of Olynthus (pl. LXIV), giving it at least 1,100 houses in the "checkered" section; 2,000 poorer folk are thought to have lived on the South Hill, and in all Olynthus is estimated to have had a population of at least 10,000 in the period 432-348.

The volume is not faultless—its title, subtitle, and preface strike false notes—and it is the prime duty of a reviewer to warn readers not to judge the whole by these superficialities. Professor Robinson, who has personally financed the publication, deserves gratitude.

Harvard University

STERLING DOW

Medieval History

THE RHETORIC OF ALCUIN & CHARLEMAGNE. A Translation, with an Introduction, the Latin Text, and Notes, by *Wilbur Samuel Howell*. [Princeton Studies in English, Volume 23.] (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1941. Pp. ix, 175. \$3.50.)

THE *Disputatio de rhetorica et de virtutibus sapientissimi Regis Karli et Albini Magistri*, as the *Rhetoric* is formally called, is a typical example of the educational writings of Alcuin. It takes the form of an imaginary dialogue between Charlemagne, the eager pupil, and Alcuin, the learned tutor. The present work provides us with the first English translation ever printed and much more.

The Latin text, except for a few changes, is that of Halm, whose readings are culled from only three of the twenty-six or more extant manuscripts. As Mr. Howell himself points out, "a careful edition . . . from all available manuscripts would be a desirable event" (p. 21). Meanwhile we can at least comfort ourselves with the knowledge that Halm tested the validity of his readings against the parallel readings in Alcuin's sources.

The English translation has considerable merit. It is fluent, clear, and accurate. It is particularly successful in its rendering of such difficult technical terms as *status* and *constitutio* (both are called "position"); for *translatio*, however, I personally prefer "transference" to Howell's "procedure." Of course there are a few slips. Thus, "by conjectures this fact must be investigated" (p. 75) requires a different order of words; "their property who shall remain" (p. 77) ought to be "the property of those who shall remain"; "and what law was written by what

lawmakers" (p. 79, l. 14: a mistranslation of *quaeque*) really means "and what lawmakers wrote each law"; "would" (p. 79, l. 20) should be "may"; "or reward and punishment" (p. 83: a misunderstanding of *praemii*) needs correction to "and fine or punishment." Typographical errors are almost nonexistent: read *Froben* for *Forben* (p. 14, l. 15); delete the quotation marks on page 136, line 4.

There is a careful investigation of Alcuin's four sources—Cicero's *De Inventione*, Julius Victor's *Ars Rhetorica* (which itself depends upon Cicero's *De Oratore*), Cassiodorus, and Isidore. The last two are relatively unimportant. Mr. Howell states, however, that Cassiodorus is used only twice (p. 25) despite his own citation (p. 160) of three additional instances in the notes on lines 93-94, 96-97, and 119-21. It is possible, moreover, that Alcuin's lines 162-66, assigned by our author to Cicero, *De Inv.* I 17, may come from Cassiodorus, *Inst.* II ii 7 (where there is a borrowing from Cicero).

Mr. Howell cites ample evidence for 794 (and not 796) as the date of Alcuin's work, lists nineteen new manuscripts, describes the worth of the various printed editions, provides us with a brief study of rhetoric from its beginnings in Greece, and points out the educational value of the work as a tool and, incidentally, as a treatise on politics, law, and morals.

The book will be useful to scholars in many fields.

City College, New York

LESLIE W. JONES

THE ART OF COURTLY LOVE. By *Andreas Capellanus*. With Introduction, Translation, and Notes by *John Jay Parry*. [Number XXXIII of the Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies, Austin P. Evans, Editor.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1941. Pp. xi, 218. \$2.75.)

ANDREW the Chaplain has waited a long time for an English translator. His Latin work was produced probably about 1185 and had a wide and prolonged vogue. Versions appeared in French, Italian, Catalan, and German, and allusions to him are frequent throughout European literature. In no single medieval work do we find so compendious a statement of the principles of courtly love, and students of the Middle Ages will be grateful to Mr. Parry for providing them with an eminently readable English version.

The introduction gives a concise account of the main features of the "system," discusses the question of its origin, the noble and royal personages who promulgated it, the identity of the author, the date and structure of the work itself, and the evidence of its influence. A new and valuable feature is a genealogical table showing the family relations of the leaders of the courtly circles in which *l'amour courtois* was most fully developed.

Mr. Parry accepts the indisputable importance of Ovid's three erotic poems as the basis of the convention which Andreas attempted to systematize. But some of the most significant features of this convention are lacking in Ovid, *e.g.*, the humility of the lover's attitude toward his lady and the power of love to elevate

the lover's manners and character. These appear in the lyrics of the troubadours two generations before Andreas wrote, and Mr. Parry inclines to the theory that they derive from Plato through the Arabs and the Moslems in Spain, drawing his evidence mainly from *The Dove's Neck-Ring about Love and Lovers* of Ibn Hazm (ca. 1022). The parallelisms adduced fall short of complete proof, and Ibn Hazm's date is slightly later than that of the troubadours.

Andreas himself remains a somewhat vague figure. There is no corroboration of his claim to the title of royal chaplain, and there is no reason to doubt that he was attached to the court of Marie de Champagne. The fact that the book quotes itself raises doubt as to whether the document we possess is the original form. The young man Gualterius, for whose benefit Andreas professes to have written, is still unidentified.

The most illuminating part of the book itself is the series of eight dialogues between a man and a woman representing the middle class, the nobility, and the higher nobility. The speakers may be of the same class, or the man may be above or below the woman. Their arguments are highly sophisticated and give a picture, probably more detailed than can be found in any other document, of the extraordinary intellectual finesse which characterized the playing of the game of love in this period.

The third part of Andreas' volume, "The Rejection of Love," is quite inconsistent with the two earlier parts, and the apology made by the author for having written these is entirely unconvincing. It consists of arguments against having anything to do with love at all and of the calumnies against women familiar since *Jerome against Jovinian*. The example of Ovid in *Remedia amoris* and the desirability of guarding his reputation as a cleric may account for it. As a contribution to the understanding of the social ideals and practices of the time it is much less important than the earlier part of the work.

The treatise of Andreas raises almost as many questions as it clarifies, and Mr. Parry's serviceable volume may give impetus to the search for answers.

Falls Village, Connecticut

W. A. NEILSON

VENETIAN ADVENTURER: BEING AN ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE AND TIMES AND OF THE BOOK OF MESSER MARCO POLO. By *Henry H. Hart*. (Stanford University: Stanford University Press. 1942. Pp. xiv, 284. \$3.50.)

It is a pleasure to read a book on Marco Polo written by one familiar with the Chinese scene and with Chinese literature as well as with the Mediterranean littoral and medieval Latin. Marco emerges, as clearly as his own narrative, final testament, and other pertinent documents will permit, a really human figure moving amongst the diverse elements constituting the Italy and Asia of his day. The author has included good background chapters on the Mongol conquests and the Venice of the thirteenth century and has ended with an epilogue summarizing the

data on Marco's tomb, family, property, wealth, and the various manuscripts and printed editions of his book, some of which have only recently been brought to light by the researches of Benedetto, David, and Moule. There are a few carefully selected illustrations and reproductions of early maps and a useful bibliography and index. This reviewer is happy to recommend the work as an introduction to a serious study of the famous traveler.

It cannot, of course, take the place of the travelogue itself. Hart more than once says explicitly that the reader must consult that work for the descriptions and stories Marco gives of peoples and places. Indeed he goes further and heartily commends the annotated edition of Yule and Cordier, which is such a mine of additional information. One of the minor tragedies of this war is that we must wait a long time, probably, for the results of the massive scholarship which Professor Paul Pelliot of the Collège de France has been bringing to bear on the latest edition of the text by Moule and himself.

A few minor assertions and inaccuracies may be questioned or corrected. The date of birth of Jenghis Khan is given as "about 1162." Pelliot announced to the Société Asiatique in 1938 that he believed it to be 1167. This would alter the conqueror's age at death to sixty. Jenghis turned to campaigns in the west before 1223. He was operating southeast of Lake Balkhash in the summer of 1219. The golden tablet which he presented to the Taoist alchemist was not in the shape of a tiger's head but was ornamented with the head of a tiger on the upper part, according to the researches of Wang Kuo-wei and Toru Haneda. How many people lost their lives in north and west China as a result of the Mongol invasion is anybody's guess. Personally I question any such figure as eighteen million, just as I have questioned elsewhere the figure of forty million given by Prawdin in *The Mongol Empire*. Population statistics in times of turmoil were as unknown then as they are today. It is highly uncritical to write: "Millet of Chinese origin has been found in the remains of the pre-historic lake dwellings of Switzerland, perhaps 25,000 years old." Our knowledge of millet in China does not extend back of the late Stone Age, say five thousand years ago. Hardly any of the products listed on page 40, as offered in the markets of the Rome of the Caesars, came from China. Musk possibly derived from Malaya, ginger from India, cinnamon from Ceylon, rhubarb from Persia, and rice from the Indus Valley. (Cf. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, *passim*.) As for furs, is it not likely that they came from the Ural Mountains? It is protesting too much to say that the universities of Ch'ang-an under the T'ang "were crowded with thousands of students from Japan and Korea, from Tibet and the South." The *Collection of Important Documents of the T'ang* vouchsafes only that students came from these regions; their number is not given. One may also question the author's declaration that the Chinese had deep-drilling methods as early as B.C. 200, and that "Greek fire" spread to China in the eighth century of our era. The earliest mention of mining to any depth is in the Han history, compiled from official records at the end of the first century of our era, and occurs in a memorial to the throne presented B.C. 44.

China's pottery hand grenades may well have been an independent invention. It is to be remembered that an Arabic treatise of 1249 calls saltpeter "Chinese snow" and the rocket "Chinese arrow." According to R. A. Mott, no regular use of coal occurred in Great Britain until about A.D. 1200—not the ninth century, as our author has it. The Chinese did not surely use coal as fuel until the fourth century. The presumed reference to coal in the *Huai nan tzu* of Liu An (d. B.C. 122) is unconvincing. It is true that Friar William of Rubruck (on his travels in 1253-55) reported that "the common money of Cathay is a paper of cotton," but in this he erred. The paper money of his day, as well as the paper for books and correspondence, had no base of cotton. (Cf. Pelliot, *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, 3rd ser., III [1922-23], 14, n. 1.)

Kubilai transferred his winter capital to the site of modern Peking in 1260, not 1263. It is not quite correct to say that Marco "describes the bell and drum towers which are still standing in Peking, though to the south of the places where they were erected by the Mongol emperor." He mentioned only the bell. According to Bouillard, this tower now contains the drum and has not been shifted. The bell tower was erected to the south in 1420. No evidence has been found that Marco was appointed governor of Yangchow; he probably occupied a subordinate post there (attached to the salt administration?). Finally, for those interested in bibliography, it should be noted that the translation of Prawdin's *Genghis-khan* by Franz Glaentzer is into Italian.

Columbia University

L. CARRINGTON GOODRICH

Modern European History

NAPOLEON'S INVASION OF RUSSIA, 1812. By *Eugene Tarlé*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1942. Pp. 422. \$3.50.)

THIS book by the leading Soviet Russian historian is apt to meet with great response, both on account of its timely subject and on account of its author, who is one of the best-known contemporary scholars in the field of Napoleonic history. The work was first published in Russia in 1938. Tarlé obviously wants to serve a twofold purpose: as in former studies of his on the economic history of the period, to check the traditional interpretation of his subject and, at the same time, to present to the Russian public at large a picture of the most formative event in their modern national history, to be both scholarly and popular, descriptive and inspiring. In the main Tarlé gives a narrative of the campaign of 1812, with special emphasis on the military conduct on the Russian side. It is decidedly a narrative. Even problems like organization and supply are not systematically treated but only taken up in the course of the narrative. Merely one brief chapter, "The Russian People and the Invasion," goes beyond these limits. The political back-

ground of the conflict is only very briefly dealt with in the introductory chapter.

The book is based on widely scattered material, either found in the numerous publications of tsarist scholars or still unpublished. Unfortunately, footnotes are completely missing in the American edition, and those in the Russian edition are rather scanty and frequently summary. A considerable amount of the material is taken from the papers left by scholars like Schilder and Voensky, who either collected or copied manuscripts without making full use of them, perhaps sometimes because of political considerations. The proof is not always quite convincing. For instance, because of a summary reference to the Schilder Papers, Grand Duke Constantine is pictured as leaving the army of his own volition, while the Loewenstern memoirs prove the opposite. Also, as proof of a definite Prussian demand for the Baltic provinces Tarlé cites the papers of Mikhailovsky-Danilevsky, whose reliability is questionable. There will also be differences of opinion in the evaluation of French sources such as Ségur and Caulaincourt (who is exclusively quoted from the very unreliable old edition). Certainly, in the critical evaluation of his material Tarlé is at his very best when he destroys clever pretensions of courtiers such as Balashof. In the final result, however, the change in the traditional picture is not very great, except that in Tarlé's description Kutuzov emerges as the all-exclusive hero, as the personification of the real Russia.

Both these last points are very characteristic. The whole story of Russia's defense is given with a definitive set of values in mind. The Russian people are the hero of the story; tsar and courtiers, together with most foreigners, are the villains. A moralistic popular tendency is apparent throughout the whole book. Even the clarity in the exposition of strategic and tactical moves is frequently interfered with by emphasis on special valiant exploits. All this is very natural in a book written in Soviet Russia in 1938 and recalling to the mind of the Russian people those virtues by which in their "national war" of 1812 they were able to endure and to give an example to others and which today, in their greatest ordeal, they are showing again to the admiration of the whole world.

But the objective interpretation of events is bound to suffer from such a deliberately "popular" approach, the more so since the anti-tsarist strictures are coupled with other assumptions and conclusions which are not convincingly derived from the facts but rather imposed upon them. Tarlé's discussion of the attitude of the serfs offers a good example. The material presented in this part—incidentally, the most interesting of the whole book—clearly proves that in Russia proper the peasantry expected the emancipation to take place by will of the tsar as recognition for their services. Just as in other periods of Russian history, the risings of 1812—as Tarlé interestingly points out, much less numerous than in other years—were appeals to the tsar; they are proof of what Tarlé calls "the monarchistic legend about the Little Father Tsar." Tarlé has been able to find only one application for emancipation made to Napoleon, in the Schilder Papers (p. 261 of the English edition, without any specific reference). Yet he believes that originally the peasants were willing to expect emancipation through the

invader and that only Napoleon's conservative attitude dissipated such hopes. In such a thesis the inborn hatred and fear of any invader seem to be underestimated to give preponderance to modern class conceptions. Similarly, the orthodox features of the national defense against the West are almost completely neglected, and the part played by the church is minimized.

The evaluation of the personality of Kutuzov, who emerges as the dominating figure of the later part of the book, has always been dependent on the interpretation of the campaign of 1812 in general. Those—mostly non-Russians—who regarded as its purpose the complete overthrow of the Napoleonic regime for the sake of both Russia and Europe were prone to blame Kutuzov for his slowness and passivity, which made Napoleon's escape possible. Russian historiography, however, has been on the whole inclined to justify his strategy of attrition as in line with the attitude of the Russian people, who were only concerned with the liberation of their soil. Parallel with Russia's general intellectual development, the Russian aspects proved victorious over those of a Europeanized court society. The Russian point of view has been given most impressively in Tolstoy's *War and Peace*. Tarlé continues this national tradition, yet he goes beyond the former, very convincing, interpretation of Kutuzov as a wise old man who, with a relative minimum of sacrifices, by virtue of his age and his habitual passivity instinctively fulfilled the needs of a truly Russian strategy. To him Kutuzov's strategy after Napoleon's evacuation of Moscow was based on the clear realization that the complete destruction of Napoleon would only be to the advantage of England and even of Germany, and he calls Kutuzov "a profound political thinker," a statement for which there is very little evidence indeed. Hardly any move of Kutuzov remains open to criticism; all his actions are posthumously rationalized and justified.

The opinions and policy of Kutuzov's great antagonist Alexander, on the contrary, are scarcely discussed. Since no attempt is made to view the Russian war as part of a common European struggle, naturally no value except a nuisance value is attached to the European conceptions and to the European surroundings of Alexander. Similarly, the policy of the other European states is treated very summarily. Particular blame is heaped on England, which is presented as a power concerned only with shedding Russian blood for her own selfish interests. An adventurer like Sir Robert Wilson, the self-styled though very influential British observer with the Russian army, almost continually at loggerheads with the ambassador, is described as an official British agent, and his actions are characterized as emanating from anxiety over the social and economic situation in England. Surely, the British commercial interests were closely tied up with those of the great Russian landowners, and an expert in the economic history of the period such as Tarlé might be able by closer investigation to prove in detail the political repercussions of this tie-up, but a military bravado like Sir Robert is not representative of these connections. Moreover, the tsar's frequent concurrence with his opinions was caused by the fact that Alexander looked upon Russia as a mem-

ber of the European system of states. For that very reason Napoleon had gone to war against Russia—in order to restore the situation of Tilsit, *i.e.*, to eliminate any Russian interference in Europe proper and by common action with Russia to force England also to refrain from any interference. But these European problems are not made part of Tarlé's strongly isolationist story. Napoleon's attack is almost exclusively explained as being made in the interests of the French upper middle class in order to subject Russia to her economic interests. Apart from a few references to Spain and to the beginnings of national awakening in Germany no attention is paid to the latent tendency toward revolt and to the ever-increasing anxiety for real stability that characterized the outside world in the period of the Russian campaign. Unless one describes this whole atmosphere, a personality like Alexander necessarily must appear shallow and weak, as he actually does in Tarlé's book, and his European aspirations must seem foolish and senseless. And yet from the beginning of the campaign Alexander wanted to conduct it as a European task, as a first step toward European reconstruction.

Tarlé's book definitely simplifies the story. But by this very procedure, by using the black-white coloring of courtly against popular, of pseudo-European against national, Russian, it is both challenging and stimulating. Indeed, the directness of his standards of value and their political implications are even more interesting than the description itself, though at some of the high spots the narrative is full of dramatic intensity.

The translation is very readable. Compared with the Russian edition of 1938, there are omissions as well as additions, but none of them changes the character of the book. For a new edition two types of corrections are imperative. On the maps a number of important place names to which the text refers are missing, and the transcription from the Russian original frequently mutilates non-Russian names (for instance, "Buksgvden" instead of "Buxhoevden," "Vollzogen" instead of "Wolzogen").

Washington University

DIETRICH GERHARD

OUTLINES OF RUSSIAN CULTURE. Part I, RELIGION AND THE CHURCH; Part II, LITERATURE; Part III, ARCHITECTURE, PAINTING, AND MUSIC. By *Paul Miliukov*. Edited by *Michael Karpovich*. Translated by *Valentine Ughet* and *Eleanor Davis*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1942. Pp. xiii, 220; v, 130; v, 159. \$2.50; \$1.50; \$2.00 for the respective parts; \$5.00 for the set.)

NEXT to Kliuchevskii's magisterial *Kurs*, in prerevolutionary Russia Miliukov's *Ocherki po istorii russkoi kulture* was perhaps the most outstanding and influential survey of the country's past. The *Outlines* originated nearly half a century ago, but they have been repeatedly revised. The latest revision was made in the thirties by the then septuagenarian author, who was living in Paris as an expatriate, occupied chiefly with editing a liberal, anti-Bolshevik daily. It is upon this latest text that the present English version is based. The volumes under review render ac-

cessible to the English-reading public only a part of the Russian original, namely, about two thirds of Volume II, published in Paris in 1931.

Miliukov's approach to history may be described as the sociological or cultural one. Underlying his work is a broad, one might say *total*, conception, which takes account of the geographical setting as well as of all the significant manifestations of the life of a given society, from its economic functions to its artistic activities. Without assigning a determining role to any one factor, the historian perceives that they are all interrelated but chooses to trace the evolution of each phase of the historical process, from beginning to end, separately.

The topical, rather than the chronological, arrangement of Miliukov's text has made it possible for Professor Karpovich to present an excerpt from a volume of *Ocherki* as three complete and fairly independent entities. As the editor points out in his foreword, the text has been condensed, with the author's approval, to the end of fitting it to the needs of a non-Russian audience. The deletions, ranging from phrases to long passages, testify to the editor's good judgment. The uninitiated reader is further assisted by explanatory footnotes, and the student is supplied with selected bibliographies, in which English works predominate and which the editor has substituted for the extensive lists, chiefly of Russian titles, accompanying the chapters in the original. Professor Karpovich has provided each volume with an admirable postscript bringing the account down to date. It is to be regretted that he did not deem it advisable to include in the set the chapters on education. The section on literature might better have been sacrificed, since there are several competent surveys of the subject in English, whereas, aside from Darlington's outdated monograph, no general history of Russian education appears to be available to the English-reading public.

The volume on religion and the church, which is the longest, is also the most adequate; the parts devoted to literature and the arts are less satisfactory. Both by training and habit of mind, the author is more competent to deal with the processes of a workaday world than with the products of the creative imagination. The chapters on literature are less concerned with literary values than with changes in the public taste, with the reciprocal relationship of life and letters, and with the rise and fall of schools. The author has more pertinent things to say about the intellectual climate than about the *flora* dependent upon it. The result is, nevertheless, a welcome supplement to the usual histories of Russian literature. The author's deficient sense of aesthetic values is a greater drawback when it comes to the discussion of painting and of music, but even here he manages to be informative, though not truly illuminating. In the chapters covering the Soviet period both the author and the editor have done pioneer work. In these pages the treatment, though of necessity sketchy and tentative, is notable for its objectivity. One of the things that these volumes clearly demonstrate is the continuity of the Russian cultural process, a continuity which the war has brought sharply into focus.

The translation, though occasionally infelicitous, seems fairly free from errors.

One may be noted here for correction in a future edition: the title of Andrey Novikov's novel is *The Origin of Nebulae*, not *The Origin of Fogginess* (Part II, p. 215).

New York Public Library

AVRAHM YARMOLINSKY

MISSION TO MOSCOW. By *Joseph E. Davies*, United States Ambassador to the Soviet Union from 1936 to 1938. (New York: Simon and Schuster. 1941. Pp. xxii, 659. \$3.00.)

For the general reading public as well as the student of history this volume has meant access to contemporary diplomatic documents. The State Department allowed our former ambassador to the Soviet Union to publish his reports on his mission because of the interest in the subject covered. Many believed that these reports could be taken as a more objective analysis of the Soviet system than had been currently available. Between the enthusiastic accounts of sympathizers and the criticisms of opponents the reading public was confused—and so were many students of contemporary events. And in this book one had the firsthand views of a hardheaded businessman, reporting in confidence and responsibly to his government. The unexpected strength shown by the Soviets in meeting the Nazi attack was in line with the statements of Davies' reports, and one sought confirmation of one's hopes that it would continue. So the book became one of the best sellers, although made up in large measure of diplomatic documents and reports, livened up by extracts from a diary and a few personal letters written from Moscow to family or friends. In these less formal statements of his views Mr. Davies repeated and thus further stressed the points emphasized in his formal reports. Even in the latter, however, the ambassador remained the direct-thinking and outspoken businessman and in so doing probably violated old-school diplomatic usage in several instances.

Mr. Davies finds it in place to underline his opposition to many of the social principles on which the Soviet system is based. But he was sent to Moscow to study it. And he found the Soviet system producing the goods and reported the fact. Although he did not mention it in his selections from his diary, the author tells publicly of one experience bearing on this point. He had given a statement to the official English-language newspaper published in Moscow after a trip of inspection of some Soviet factories. Several of his colleagues of the diplomatic corps in informal conversation raised the question of whether it was wise to tell the Communists they were doing well. His reply, as he recounted the experience, was to raise the more important question of whether it was wise not to see that the Soviets were doing a rather creditable performance in organization and production.

One of the disruptive factors in the international situation of the prewar years was the question that could be and was raised respecting the actual strength of the Soviet system. There was the related question of the consistency—or as some worded it, the sincerity—of the Soviet adherence to programs of collective security

to strengthen the tottering structure of peace. American policy seemed to be based on the view that the Soviets were strong politically and economically and therefore also militarily. Chamberlain of Great Britain either believed or wanted to believe that the Soviets were weak. Because of community of interests, American policy had to try to parallel the British. Davies' reports must have contributed to that healthy skepticism with respect to Chamberlain's policy which was felt in official circles in Washington as it was so widely in American public opinion. For Chamberlain showed his real self, with his petty subterfuges, especially in relation to the Soviets.

The resumption of official diplomatic relations between the American and Soviet governments was accompanied by friction almost from the very beginning. The former mutual distrust was not completely dissipated because of fresh misunderstandings as to the understandings presumably reached. The diplomats on both sides tended to keep the misunderstanding alive, for professional prestige became a factor. The heads of states were of course affected, and some felt concern over President Roosevelt's attitude to the Soviet leaders as America's involvement in the war seemed to be more and more imminent. Davies' book revealed to the students of American-Russian relations that the misunderstanding over the arrangement respecting debts and loans had been cleared up on the initiative of Stalin. The procedure, suggested by Stalin, was a direct report to the President by Mr. Davies, without reference to the usual diplomatic channels or procedure. By his contribution to the clearing up of this point of controversy Mr. Davies facilitated the later American policy of co-operation with the Soviets.

Mr. Davies, in personal letters as well as in his reports, does not pass over lightly the negative and destructive features of the revolutionary experiment it became his official duty to cover. He expressed forthright criticism of some of the methods used, but abstained from petty pinpricking and discouraged such among his embassy staff. He had to report on the first of the Moscow trials of 1936-37. While he attended one trial he was not fully sure about it. In a footnote, clearly indicated as representing "hindsight," he admits that he missed the real significance of the trials. A paragraph in his diary of March 11, 1937 (p. 113), touches on the interpretation of these trials. As the fact and character of these trials were effectively used by those who insisted that the Soviet system was breaking down, and in all respects, this entry is very interesting:

Another diplomat, Minister ———, made a most illuminating statement to me yesterday. In discussing the trial he said that the defendants were undoubtedly guilty; that all of us who had attended the trial had practically agreed on that; that the outside world from the press reports, however, seemed to think that the trial was a put-up job (*façade*, as he called it); that while we knew it was not, it was probably just as well that the outside world should think so.

This must have raised in the minds of many readers the question of whether some of the diplomacy of the years preceding the war was stupidity or cynicism.

University of Chicago

SAMUEL N. HARPER

A HISTORY OF UKRAINE. By *Michael Hrushevsky*. Edited by *O. J. Frederiksen*, Assistant Professor of History and Government in Miami University. Preface by George Vernadsky, Research Associate in History in Yale University. Published for the Ukrainian National Association. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1941. Pp. xviii, 629. \$4.00.)

BOHDAN, HETMAN OF UKRAINE. By *George Vernadsky*. (*Ibid.* 1941. Pp. 150. \$2.50.)

THE first volume under review is based in large part upon Hrushevsky's *Istoriia Ukraini-Rusi*, the ten volumes of which appeared between 1898 and 1937. Although Hrushevsky does not devote as much attention to international affairs as Allen has done in *The Ukraine: A History*, he presents a rounded picture of the Ukraine in its proper setting. By his scholarly use of sources and by his ability to weave together the scattered strands of Ukrainian life in Galicia, the Dnieper Valley, and the Don, Hrushevsky proves himself a historian of marked ability.

Unfortunately, *Istoriia Ukraini-Rusi* ends with the year 1659, so that the subsequent period, which above all was in need of first-rate treatment, had to be covered by the use of expedients, with results inferior to the first section of the book.

Even the first part is not free from flaws. Hrushevsky, in addition to being a scholar, was for many years leader of the Ukrainian nationalist movement, to which he imparted an anti-Russian, separatist character. He was exiled by the imperial Russian government and later by the Soviets, and in 1917-18 he was president of the Ukrainian National Rada, with which the Germans signed an alliance in 1918. His nationalism is evident in his writing, with results that the reviewer believes to be unsound. To call the civilization of the Kievan period *Ukrainian* is an anachronism, for as Professor Frederiksen, the editor, points out, the name Ukraine was first used in the chronicles in 1187. Moreover, it was probably first used in a geographical sense only, as the concept of a Ukrainian people distinct from the Russians did not emerge until the seventeenth century. By using the word Ukrainian in discussing the period of Kievan Rus, Hrushevsky implies that its civilization was Ukrainian rather than Russian.

In similar fashion the author claims that the term *Rus* originally referred not to the Varangians but to the lands of the Poliane around Kiev, and that only later was it extended to cover other Slavic tribes. Thus he suggests that Kiev was superior to the rest of the land. Unfortunately for this theory of Ukrainian dominance, Hrushevsky's evidence is much less convincing than the arguments of Kliuchevskii in support of the Varangian theory—arguments based upon the sagas and on the Byzantine and Arab writers of the tenth century.

Traces of partisanship are also met in the chapter on the period of Khmel'nitsky. The author blames the loss of Ukrainian independence on "selfish neighbors who constantly interfered with its internal affairs" and thus prevented unity. While the neighbors of the Ukraine were doubtless selfish, perhaps part of the cause of the failure of the Ukraine to endure lay in the social conflict between Cossack

officers, who wanted to become serf-owners, and the mass of the peasantry, who yearned for freedom. Hrushevsky, however, criticizes the peasants for distrusting the Cossack leaders, who, he asserts, "really had the political interests of all classes at heart and were working for the liberation of all Ukraine" (p. 307).

The second part of the book is of poorer quality. In large part it is based on the author's one-volume popular history written before the World War. The chapters dealing with the Ukraine in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries suffer from excessive emphasis upon intellectual developments. Important as the Hromada and the cultural progress in Galicia were, no history dealing with this period is complete when it passes over the Polish uprising of 1863, the economic results of the emancipation, the Narodnik movement, and other radical activity of the 1880's. Hrushevsky has nothing to say concerning the rapid industrialization of the Ukraine from 1890 on. Furthermore, he errs in portraying the Revolution of 1905 in the Ukraine as a national movement. The many documents published by Pokrovskii and other historians show that Ukrainian nationalism played a small part in the uprising.

The chapters on the Ukraine in the World War and in the Revolution of 1917 were apparently written by Hrushevsky as an apologia, while the concluding section, sketching events in the Ukraine from 1918 to 1940, was written by Professor Frederiksen from notes supplied by Dr. Luke Myshuha, a Ukrainian nationalist. These chapters are the least impressive in the book.

Professor Vernadsky's biography of *Bohdan, Hetman of the Ukraine* presents a lively picture of the Ukraine under its most successful leader. The author's sympathy with his subject, however, makes him overgenerous in bestowing credit on his hero. Bohdan was apparently not a man of great foresight or vision. He began his attack upon Poland largely out of personal spite and seems to have been disconcerted to find himself leader of a vast peasant movement. Moreover, his acceptance of the protection of Muscovy was not the result of careful planning but was practically forced upon him by lack of other support. Furthermore, he had so little sense of broad social interests that he was willing to sacrifice his former allies, the peasants, for the benefit of the Cossack officers. Nevertheless, in spite of the opportunistic nature of Bohdan's acts, one must agree with Professor Vernadsky that Bohdan's leadership halted the Polonization of the Ukraine, and that his alliance with Moscow was the logical course for the Ukraine to follow.

Hyde Park, New York

JOHN SHELTON CURTISS

THE HISTORY OF POLAND: AN ESSAY IN HISTORICAL SYNTHESIS.

By *Oscar Halecki*. Translated from French into English by *Monica Gardner* and *Mary Corbridge-Patkaniowska*. (London: J. M. Dent and Sons. 1942. Pp. 272, xvi.)

THE title, subtitle, introduction, and the brevity of this latest presentation of the history of Poland all give important clues to the special nature of its contents and indicate that the book should not be read for what it is not. Though it covers

the whole range of Poland's thousand years of recorded national life, it is neither merely nor completely an outline of Polish history. The well-carried-out aim of the author, one of Poland's most distinguished historians, holding a chair of history in pre-1939 Warsaw University and now writing from Vassar College, is to present in essay form a synthesis and an interpretation of the history of his country, to state a philosophy of that history, to discuss the essential historical problems of the Polish nation, and to cause the reader to reflect on these.

Being strictly an essay, the book contains no footnotes, gives no bibliography, and does not deal with the views of historians holding opinions other than those of the author. In an "outline" these would be weaknesses; in an "essay" they are appropriate characteristics.

Reviewing the book briefly in terms of his declared purpose, one should comment upon it as a synthesis, as an interpretation, and as a selection and discussion of Poland's vital problems seen in the perspective of the years.

Professor Halecki bases his synthesis of Poland's history upon its ready division into five periods: first, that of its earliest dynasty, ending in 1370; second, that of the great Jagiellon dynasty, ending in 1572; third, the period of the popularly elected kings, which ended with the third partition of Poland in 1795; fourth, the period of "The Ordeal," 1795-1914; and fifth, the period of the new Poland, 1914 to today. Within this very acceptable outline the treatment which is most fresh, clear, and enlightening to this reviewer is that of the first three hundred and fifty years of Polish history, which has probably never before been so well presented and interpreted for English readers. This clarity and freshness of treatment continues throughout the book; but here and there one meets interpretations differing from those of certain other scholars; such differences of opinion are both the field and the form of historical research.

It is as a selection of Poland's essential problems that this essay is a distinguished success. The total mass of available material is first reduced by a good principle of selection, the evaluating of an event in proportion to the persistence of its consequences. The events and personalities which then remain are seen to relate to Poland's permanent or recurring problems arising from its location between Germany and Russia, to its unusual political constitution, and to the psychology of the Poles. Poland's great constant problem has been to protect itself from invasions from the east and from the west, with north and south variations on these themes provided by the Vasas of Sweden and the Habsburgs of Austria, Rome sometimes helping, sometimes hindering.

The persisting internal problems brought into relief by Halecki's skillful handling are those of dynasty, of the constitution, of lack of a Polish urban class, the selfishness of the aristocracy, minority groups, the repression of the peasants, the lack of a standing army, and of access to the sea; the consequences of the low state of morals and religious faith during the eighteenth century are clearly indicated; the revivals both in character and in national spirit during the nineteenth century are brought out in their causes and in their manifestations.

This book was written by Professor Halecki in French in 1932-33 and is now enlarged, enriched, and translated to meet a present-day need for an understanding by the English-reading world of this nation which before September, 1939, numbered thirty-five million people. There exists no better brief statement of Poland's thousand years of struggle.

New York City

PAUL SUPER

THE GERMANS: DOUBLE HISTORY OF A NATION. By *Emil Ludwig*.

Translated from the German by *Heinz* and *Ruth Norden*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1941. Pp. ix, 509. \$4.00.)

THIS volume traces the struggle between state and spirit among the Germans during two thousand years of history. The work opens with Ariovistus before Caesar and closes with Hitler, bearing the forms of power which have made the name of Germany hated and feared throughout the world. The book is divided into five parts: the dream of world dominion, the struggle for the creed, the schism of state and spirit, world citizens and nationalists, and the decline from William II to "a truly German phenomenon," Hitler.

The author's preparation for this explanation of the national character was a lifetime of study. In his foreword he states that his scope is psychological, his approach biographical, with skillful selection of fully rounded characters. After expressing himself freely against historians and historical methods, the author attempts to write a political and cultural history. In selecting legends to support his points, Ludwig omitted the one of how Charlemagne's eyes filled with tears when in the autumn of 800 he saw the Northmen sailing the Mediterranean. Here was an end of any dream of world dominion. "The German people," Tirpitz actually said eleven hundred years later, "did not understand the sea." Yet Ludwig has correctly understood the place of Saxon, Hohenstaufen, Guelph, and Habsburg in the development of the German state. "Where," asks the author, "do the great Germans come from?" Certainly not from Prussia, the military police state, with its degrading forms of obedience, but from the south and west. The author proves this point with long lists of great and near great in a manner reminiscent of Houston Stewart Chamberlain. The omission of one remarkable character may be cited as a pertinent example of Ludwig's errors. Reinald von Dassel, born on the Weser, educated in theology and philosophy at Hildesheim and Paris, *Reichskanzler* in 1156, was one of the most brilliant personalities in all German history.

The Golden Age of Germany, commencing in the late eighteenth century, presents four decades of development vast in extent and revealing the intensity of the German mind as no other period in modern times. "The break between the German State and the Mind was now complete." It is in this period that the author has given us his best portraits, first of the seven stars of German music, and then of Schiller, Goethe, Kant, and Beethoven. The author correctly states

that the greatest German philosophic power lay in the mastery of the ideal material of history as embodied in the doctrine of Kant, the thought symphony of the Germans.

In the development of the modern state, Frederick the Great is branded as the Nihilist of the North. Stein is correctly portrayed as the true hero of his epoch, standing with the lofty Goethe at the portals of the nineteenth century just as Bismarck and Nietzsche stand as guardians at the exit. This is the century in which the Prussian warrior caste liberates, unifies, and organizes the German people in the depths of whose soul dwells eternally the will to obey. This is the century of rising Marxism, industrialism, and the mechanization of cultural life.

It was not in the German character to make a revolution for the sake of liberty in 1918. Liberated in fact against their will, half starved after the armistice, the German people waited fourteen years for a new master to fight and suppress the spirit on behalf of the state. According to the author, the worst crime committed against the Germans at Versailles was the League of Nations. A critical analysis of his double history of Germany in the twentieth century reveals many more basic errors of fact and sensational interpretations.

This brilliant work concludes, however, with a pen portrait so inspiring and symbolical that it clearly reveals the author as the master of biography. An old man, a philosopher and musician, like the best Germans, is standing of an autumn evening in 1940 on the terrace of Heidelberg Castle above the oldest university in Germany, gazing toward the Rhine, and reflecting on the glory of the German name which has departed.

"Night has broken over the old Neckar town, over Germany. The old man has come home—he gazes before him in resignation. Now he opens the piano and plays the last Sonata of Beethoven."

Stanford University

RALPH HASWELL LUTZ

THE VISION OF WORLD PEACE IN SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE. By *Elizabeth V. Souleyman*. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1941. Pp. xvii, 232. \$2.50.)

Miss Souleyman's careful study of the peace advocates of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is on the whole an admirable achievement. The reservation derives from a perhaps understandable tendency of the author to overestimate the influence of these earlier projects upon later proposals and also from certain considerations of the manner of presentation. Working carefully from the texts, she brings together into a single and eminently useful volume the principal contributions that French thinkers and publicists made during those two centuries to the abolition of war and the advancement of the cause of peace. She is fully aware that these men are joined with one another by tenuous ties of thought, and she takes especial pains to explain how variously they viewed their problem. She analyzes their overlapping and even contradictory attitudes and solutions, group-

ing their projects in the main according to their particular approach or angle of vision.

The duke of Sully, for instance, penned the Grand Design largely out of a statesman's design to hold the pretentious Habsburgs in check. His late contemporary Emeric Cruce was a stoic cosmopolitan who thought largely in humanist terms, innocent of immediate political calculations. Pascal, the mystic, abhorred war as an abomination intolerable to a sincere professing Christian; and the deist Voltaire flayed war with the whip of his satirical genius, because it affronted his sense of the dignity and the intelligence of man. It is with the motivations as well as with the detailed provisions of the plans that the author is concerned; and it is to the eighteenth century schemes of the humanitarians and utilitarians, laissez-faire economists and free-thinking philanthropists, that she devotes the bulk of her pages.

Valuable as this work will be for serious students, the presentation is too severely atomic, sacrificing too much of informal synthesis for formal scholarly analysis and compartmentalization. The meticulous probing for attitudes and motivations, which endows her research with accuracy and exactness, reflects itself also in a toneless depersonalization of the individuals that she treats, almost as though the author were resolved not to let scholarship down by revealing that she is dealing with once living human beings, amply endowed with emotions and passions. Again, the urge for clarity and possibly the assumed claims of scholarly research lead to the use of wholly unnecessary tag identifications, such as footnoting a reference to Lincoln's Gettysburg Address or explaining that "Bentham's name is closely connected with the doctrine of utilitarianism."

These criticisms are not intended as carping comments on stylistic elegances or their lack. The reflection is principally on standards and ideals of research which constrain writers in the name of objectivity to misdirect useful intellectual energy.

Sarah Lawrence College

LEO GERSHOY

CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND. By M. M. Knappen, Michigan State College. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1942. Pp. x, 607. \$3.25.)

THIS is a manual designed to meet the need arising, on the one hand, from the current minimizing of English, and even of general European, history in American secondary schools, and, on the other, from the inclusion of the former subject in "new plan" law curricula distributing "what was formerly prelegal work throughout the entire program" and thus forcing a closer integration of constitutional history with legal studies than hitherto deemed necessary. The book's best review would have been its own preface which disarmingly sets forth the author's sense of the limitations inherent in its nature and purpose. No treatise, it is designed as a compendium of the elementary facts and developments of Eng-

lish law and government set in their political and social backgrounds. Readers who have read this rather remarkable preface will feel disinclined to cavil if the treatment of *eorl* and earl and *iarl* savor a bit of apodictic truth; if naught be said of Anglo-Saxon precedent for the Oath of Salisbury Plain; if traditional interpretations be without further ado assigned the Statute of York or the *Lex Regia* (here dated 1540); or even if the interpretation of 3 Henry VII, c. 1, be non-accordant with the exposition of Professor Pollard.

The values of the work far transcend any avowed shortcomings. It is less a *multum* than a *maximum in parvo*. Authorities cited are the latest; the significance given past by present is never forgotten; a humanitarian thread runs through the pages accordant with the sense of social obligation of late apparent in faculties and practitioners of the law; proportion is finely maintained—the eroticism of Henry VIII is relegated to appropriate neglect; technical terms are appropriately explained as they occur; pronunciations are noted (*e.g.*, Coke, Boleyn); back references are helpfully frequent; allusions to the source book of Stephenson and Marcham are numerous.

No reviewer would write any book from all the standpoints of its author. The reviewer, in this instance, would have placed greater stress on the importance of Article 61 of the Great Charter and on the significance of the status law associated with the feudal contract for judicial interpretation of our collectivistic legislation—as well, perhaps, as on the indebtedness of social reform to Benthamite Utilitarianism, *e.g.*, as in the case of the Combination Laws of 1824 and 1825. But any reviewer would be proud to have produced a text approaching the clarity and adequacy of this compendium as a whole. In the main the work comes to its literary best with the advent of the Tudors and the analysis of discontent under the Stuarts—fields peculiarly Professor Knappen's own. Elementary students, however, will be able to understand all of the book and, in its earlier sections, will particularly enjoy the description of the Inns of Court and of the early legal profession. And many a teacher, prey of routine and of committee work, will be inspired by this unique and perspicacious text to reverify his teaching or amend his lectures.

Beloit College

ROBERT K. RICHARDSON

THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND. By *G. Constant*, Formerly Member of the French Historical Institute in Rome, Professor at the Institut Catholique, Paris. Volume II, INTRODUCTION OF THE REFORMATION INTO ENGLAND, EDWARD VI (1547-1553). Translated by *E. I. Watkin*. (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1942. Pp. ix, 349. \$4.00.)

MUCH as we are indebted to realistic thinkers like Carl Becker for showing that historical writing cannot be as objective as Ranke thought it could be, we do well not to go too far in minimizing the effect which historical study can have in dissolving prejudice and developing a general agreement on matters once hotly

disputed. Those who are so taken with the fact that every man is his own historian as to doubt whether historical discipline ever serves materially to moderate partisanship should consider the history of the historiography of the English Reformation. At first the Catholics Harpsfield and Sanders matched partisan legends and aspersions on character with the Protestants Bale and Foxe. Tempers were still somewhat warm in the early years of the present century when Gasquet and Coulton were expounding their competing views. Then Pollard began to pour the oil of carefully footnoted research on the troubled waters. And now the Catholic Constant, writing with similar accuracy, presents a version of the story of those bitter years which, except for variations of emphasis, is virtually that of Mr. Pollard and his school. Although the author occasionally (pp. 167-68) seems to underestimate the abilities or sincerity of Protestant leaders, for the most part he gives us a sober, well-balanced, and orderly presentation of the main features of the Edwardian Reformation, a worthy continuation of his treatment of the earlier period (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLI, 180-81). Thou hast conquered, O Clio of the many footnotes!

If Professor Constant has a thesis, it is that the English Reformation from 1547 to 1553 was a definitely Protestant movement, which left the established Anglican church distinctly Protestant in a doctrinal sense and not an orthodox Catholic church in a state of schism, as some Anglo-Catholic writers would have us believe. Comparing the documents of the English church with their Continental predecessors, both Lutheran and Calvinist, he proves his point to the complete satisfaction of the present reviewer. Though the Anglican authorities compromised between Lutheranism and Calvinism, the system they finally produced was certainly not to any important degree a compromise with Catholicism. The Abbé Constant has given us another cool, clear, and concise summary of an important period of the English Reformation. When contrasted with the works of earlier writers it should inspire as well as inform those who have the privilege of using it.

Although the original French edition (Paris, 1939) has not been available for comparison, the translation appears on the whole to be adequate. The publishers state, however, that "from this English version some of the less important notes are excluded," and the original edition was announced as containing 652 pages.

Michigan State College

M. M. KNAPPEN

CALENDAR OF THE MANUSCRIPTS OF MAJOR-GENERAL LORD SACKVILLE, K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G., PRESERVED AT KNOLE, SEVEN-OAKS, KENT. Volume I, CRANFIELD PAPERS, 1551-1612. Edited by *A. P. Newton*. [Historical Manuscripts Commission, 80.] (London: H. M. Stationery Office; New York: British Library of Information. 1942. Pp. xxviii, 403. \$2.90.)

REPORT ON THE MANUSCRIPTS OF LORD DE L'ISLE AND DUDLEY PRESERVED AT PENSHURST PLACE, KENT. Volume IV, SIDNEY PAPERS, 1608-1611. Edited by *William A. Shaw*. [Historical Manuscripts Commission, 77.] (London: H. M. Stationery Office; New York: British Library of Information. 1942. Pp. xxxii, 395. \$2.90.)

IN this first volume of the calendar of Lord Sackville's invaluable manuscripts is presented a small part of the papers of Lionel Cranfield, mercer, merchant adventurer, projector, officeholder, financier, politician, and eventually lord treasurer and earl of Middlesex. When we meet him in 1591 he is a sixteen-year-old apprentice to a London grocer. Twenty-one years later, as this volume closes, Cranfield is on his way to his first audience with the king, having been recommended by one of his carefully selected sponsors, the earl of Northampton, as a witty merchant who could open the mystery of the cloth trade better than the whole pack of merchants. It was not bare chance that brought Cranfield at last to the presence of the king, for he had relentlessly plotted his course to the court. His reputation for sound advice to the king's officers was merited, and he was already one of the leading financiers in London. The tale of his rise through moneylending and bold speculations with Arthur Ingram and other partners in farms of the customs, in crown lands, chantries, rectories, logwood, starch, ordnance, tobacco, wine licenses, and cloth licenses is here partly unfolded in cold facts and figures. It is the opening chapter of a sensational story of the man and of the times, in which the character and something of the personal life of Cranfield sift through the mass of details on public revenue and economic history. Those who know Cranfield chiefly as lord treasurer will understand better the calculating mind of the apprentice who daringly built his fortune through financial ventures hazardous enough to ruin others. If they admire the hard sense of the man, they will also recognize in his early life the fiery temper, the bitter and quarrelsome tongue, the tardiness in attending to business that others waited on, the stubbornness, and the sensitiveness to scorn, all of which later contributed to his downfall.

The second volume here reviewed continues the letters to Viscount Lisle, governor of the cautionary town of Flushing, from his deputy governor, Sir William Browne. They supplement the *Winwood Papers*, Collins' *Sidney Papers*, and State Papers Foreign in the Public Record Office with a mixture of experienced observation and obtuse tittle-tattle about the negotiations for the truce between Spain and the United Provinces, about the siege of Juliers, and about the domestic problems of the Dutch States after their sovereignty had been sullenly recognized by Spain. The French policy of attempting to prolong hostilities between Spain and the United Provinces and to involve England in war with Spain, the Spanish policy of using England to persuade the Dutch to accept a truce without recognition of their sovereignty, and the English policy of avoiding war with Spain and at the same time of supporting the Dutch just enough to strengthen them against Spain and France are here rehearsed in sufficient detail to satisfy the historian of

diplomacy. Whether Viscount Lisle was always able to understand what his deputy was writing is questionable, and certainly the modern reader would be perplexed without the helpful introduction by the editor and the enlightening letters of Sir Thomas Edmondes in the appendix.

There is also considerable information about the garrison at Flushing and life in that town. We learn from the pulpit thunder of one Potts, a Puritan preacher, something of the exploitation of soldiers by their officers. The officers in turn were exploited by their superiors, and even Sir Wm. Browne, as he lay dying in 1611, pleaded in vain with Viscount Lisle for recognition of his long and faithful service. Browne was succeeded by his serjeant major, Sir John Throckmorton, who continued the correspondence with Viscount Lisle. Since the governor was not in residence at Flushing during the period covered by this volume, we miss Rowland White's letters of comment on affairs in England.

Yale University

HARTLEY SIMPSON

THE JOURNAL OF SIR SIMONDS D'EWES, FROM THE FIRST RECESS OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT TO THE WITHDRAWAL OF KING CHARLES FROM LONDON. Edited by *Willson Havelock Coates*, Associate Professor of History in the University of Rochester. [Yale Historical Publications, Leonard Woods Labaree, Editor, Manuscripts and Edited Texts, XVIII.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1942. Pp. xliv, 459. \$6.00.)

THE first part of D'Ewes's journal of the Long Parliament was published nearly twenty years ago, in 1923, by Professor Wallace Notestein and covered the period from November 3, 1640 to March 20, 1641. This present volume will be the third in sequence eventually, though the second to appear, and covers the period from October 12, 1641, to January 10, 1642. No explanation is given of the reason for leaving the gap. No justification was or is needed for the publication of this famous journal. It is unique; indeed, for the months covered by this volume only two other diaries are known—those of Sir Thomas Peyton and Sir John Holland. All additional information in them has been incorporated in the lengthy and admirable footnotes.

Following the general principles laid down by Professor Notestein in his edition of the first portion of D'Ewes's journal, Professor Coates has built around D'Ewes's text a structure of footnotes and appendixes which contains all additional information to be found in all available sources on the debates, persons concerned, and even the detailed occurrences mentioned in the debates. The evidence has been expertly handled; the research pursued has been prodigious and exhaustive, as the preface attests; the libraries visited and ransacked, the manuscripts read, the books analyzed are, so far as this reviewer knows, the total now available. The result is much more than a printing of the journal. It is a critical study of the Long Parliament throughout four of its most important months. Only the most detailed examination of this volume will put the reader into possession of the exhaustive information so carefully assembled. The editor has produced

a worthy sequel to Professor Notestein's edition of the first four months of the journal.

It is perhaps true, as Professor Coates declares, that Gardiner had already made definitive the general narrative of the parliament and period, so that this volume will change no large judgments of history. But it does add immensely to the detailed information now known and will in many ways expand our knowledge of measures and men. Further details on the origin, drafting, and passage of the Grand Remonstrance, the attempted arrest of the Five Members, and on those hectic January days that led Charles to leave London, never to return until he was brought back to be executed, are desirable and even essential. There is much that is new on the emergence and development of parties, on party tactics and strategy. The origin of the Militia Ordinance becomes clear for the first time. A relaxation of parliamentary privilege and the reform of some abuses of it appear in much detail, apparently the result of popular criticism. In particular, new and important information is afforded on the growth of the demand for a "negative voice" in the appointment of the king's ministers and the influence upon it of Charles's concessions to the Scots in September, 1641. Neither D'Ewes nor other sources seemed to Professor Coates to show any instigation of the London "mob" by the parliamentary leaders, as was alleged at the time by the Royalists.

Washington University

ROLAND G. USHER

VAUXHALL GARDENS: A CHAPTER IN THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND. By *James Granville Southworth*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1941. Pp. viii, 199. \$2.75.)

THIS account of the Royal Gardens at Vauxhall is an agreeable chatty book which makes no claim to great historical significance. It gives a brief history of the gardens, describes them at different stages of their career (which was exceptionally long for an amusement center), and relates a host of stories and anecdotes about them, their owners, their performers, and their visitors. The material is gathered from letters and memoirs, novels, playbills, clippings, colored plates, and the like. It is loosely strung together, and there is no close arrangement other than that which proceeds from chronological sequence and the grouping of the anecdotes under four or five heads. The mode of writing is not that of the conventional historian but often tends rather to be impressionistic. Yet the book contains a good deal of antiquarian information which cannot be found collected anywhere else, and much of which indeed cannot be found at all without delving into the sources Mr. Southworth has used. It does not prove anything very fundamental and provides no searching critique of social institutions. But it is amusing and does succeed in recapturing some of the atmosphere, both the brilliance and the shoddiness, of the great pleasure ground of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries. We catch vivid glimpses of the trip by water across the Thames, almost a universal method of approach until the building of Westminster

Bridge in 1750 and even after that because of the crowding of carriages and the dangers to foot-travelers. We hear of the innumerable lamps which dazzled visitors by their brilliance in comparison with the blackened street lamps of London. The reason for the difference was that the Vauxhall lamps had air holes to accommodate the supplementary wick which made possible their instantaneous illumination. These air holes had also the unsuspected effect, which Benjamin Franklin was apparently the first to explain, of providing a draught for the consumption of the extra carbon. The shabbiness of the gardens in the nineteenth century, when the entertainments became more varied and more vulgar, seems to have been not unconnected with the increasing prominence of the middle classes, and Vauxhall anticipated in some respects the circus and other cheap and modern popular entertainments. Mr. Southworth has done well to make use of the numerous materials available in literature, and the glamor of past gaieties is enhanced when we see them through the eyes of Pepys and Addison, Smollett and Miss Burney, Thackeray and Dickens. This book gives a distinctly minor but entertaining side light on the social history of England in the last three centuries. A companion volume on Ranelagh might also be of interest should Mr. Southworth or anyone else care to do it.

Trinity College

WILLIAM O. AYDELOTTE

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BRITISH HISTORY (1700-1715), WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE REIGN OF QUEEN ANNE. Volume IV, by *William Thomas Morgan*, Professor of European History, Indiana University; Volume V, by *William Thomas Morgan* and *Chloe Siner Morgan*. (Bloomington: Indiana University. 1941; 1942. Pp. xi, 381; xiv, 487. Vol. IV, \$6.00; Vol. V, \$7.00.)

It is not given to every scholar of good will to fulfill his commitments, especially when they expand under his hand from a contemplated single volume to five. And so one must congratulate Professor and Mrs. Morgan, not only on the thorough and exacting scholarship represented by this work but on the stamina which has carried them through twenty years of labor to its completion. Professor Morgan has not mentioned hairbreadth 'scapes anywhere in his prefaces, but many times he must have found himself in peril of drowning in the sheer copiousness of his materials. It would not be easy to find another historical bibliography representing travels as extensive, toil as prolonged, and a haul as comprehensive and polyglot. Though the laurels for its accomplishment have been richly earned by the bibliographers, the assistance given them adds a substantial item to the mounting debt which the world of scholarship owes to the American Council of Learned Societies and to the Social Science Research Council for the wise use of their resources.

Of these concluding volumes, Volume IV contains unpublished material and Volume V is devoted to those final but time-consuming and vexatious matters:

corrigenda, supplements, appendixes, and an index which will greatly facilitate the use of the work as a whole. It is naturally the British and French archives and collections which have yielded the largest harvest of material in manuscript bearing on this period, but the compilers carried their search into Dutch, Prussian, Hanoverian, Austrian, Savoyard, Danish, Scottish, Irish, and Canadian archives and into the greater libraries of Europe and America. The impossibility of including more than a few private collections in the scope of the investigation will be readily conceded. In preceding volumes Professor Morgan has pointed out the omission of a few categories of material, such as broadsides, the more purely doctrinal aspects of religious history, and works devoted specifically to the colonies, to Scotland, and to Ireland, having no bearing on their relations with England. That with these deletions the literary remains of a mere two decades of British history should have survived the wear and tear of two centuries in such profusion is a solemn thought. One wonders if historians of the requisite heroic fiber and prodigious industry will be found to launch their little boats on this sea of record with the resolution to explore it in something like its entirety. The Morgan bibliography will save them much arduous toil, but they will know in advance the full dimensions of their task, a knowledge mercifully withheld from most historians at least in the initial stages. On the other hand, these future historians of the reign of Queen Anne will have an invaluable chart and compass by which to plot their course with precision and confidence, and to avoid not only Scylla and Charybdis and the more upstanding dangers but also the mistake of confounding the shallows with the depths—an error which has caused many a good ship to founder.

Vassar College

VIOLET BARBOUR

GIBRALTAR IN BRITISH DIPLOMACY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By *Stetson Conn*, Instructor in American History, Amherst College. [Yale Historical Publications, Leonard Woods Labaree, Editor, Miscellany, XLI.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1942. Pp. ix, 317. \$3.00.)

HISTORIANS of diplomacy have long perceived, more or less clearly, that strategic locations necessarily have a diplomatic history. Constantinople, Singapore, Malta, and Gibraltar perennially exist. Consequently the foreign policies of governments, however capricious or incompetent individual ministers may be, are in part standardized by the stubborn existence of these geographical facts. We now have a charmed word for this general nexus of geographico-political considerations: it is, of course, "geopolitics." And while Dr. Conn does not use the word, his monograph is nevertheless a valuable illustration of, and contribution to, this extremely fruitful concept.

In this study, besides tracing the course of diplomacy, the author informs us appropriately of local conditions at Gibraltar. The research and scholarly conscientiousness incorporated into this readable volume are admirable. Dr. Conn

has worked extensively in the *inédit*, particularly at the Public Record Office, the British Museum, and the Quai d'Orsay. He has also put to use the transcripts in the Library of Congress on the years of the American Revolution, the collections in the Clements Library (particularly the Shelburne Papers), and the Hardwicke and the Sir Luke Schaub Papers in the New York Public Library. He is, besides, a master of the relevant published documents and secondary material (as his critical bibliography abundantly proves), and he has provided the volume with an excellent index.

British statesmen were frequently willing to surrender Gibraltar, this being particularly true of Stanhope from 1718 to 1721, of Chesterfield and Bedford in 1747-48, of Pitt in 1757, and of the whole cabinet in 1782. Dr. Conn naturally discusses these occasions in detail. His analysis of the secret Anglo-Spanish negotiations in 1747 and 1748 for a separate peace especially merits mention. Also noteworthy is his discussion of Vergennes' policy in 1782, an analysis which contributes to, as well as corrects, Doniol's treatment of the subject. By persuading Spain to conclude peace with Great Britain without securing Gibraltar, Vergennes made sure that this source of contention between Spain and Britain, which throughout the century had kept the breath of life in the Family Compacts, would stay alive.

Only tardily did the British government come to a full realization of the strategic importance of Gibraltar. To understand, then, why it was not given up requires our constant awareness of two points. First, in its relationship to the encroaching commercial policy of the British in the Spanish dominions, Gibraltar was an invaluable hostage. In addition, British ministries were constantly intimidated by the partisan and captious use which the parliamentary opposition made of any proposal to surrender it. Although Dr. Conn patently understands these points, in the judgment of this reviewer he does not quite provide his reader with a realization of how important to England was her Spanish licit and illicit trade, nor what precisely were the techniques and the objectives of the opposition in parliament. We are in consequence unable to see the Gibraltar problem in completely unobscured perspective. These animadversions, however, ought not detract from our appreciation of a useful and skillful contribution.

Dartmouth College

ARTHUR M. WILSON

PRINCE HENRY OF PRUSSIA, BROTHER OF FREDERICK THE GREAT.

By *Chester V. Easum*, Professor of History, the University of Wisconsin.
(Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1942. Pp. 403. \$5.00.)

IN this life of the lesser brother of the great Frederick, Professor Easum has given us the first treatment in English of a Prussian prince whom some people, in 1787, wanted to make the king-stadtholder of the new United States. This ancient proposal, it might be remarked parenthetically, caused a strange commotion in the Wilhelmstrasse early in this century, for the documents were discovered in the

Hohenzollern archives just as another Henry of Prussia was about to undertake an actual voyage to the United States (Vagts, *Deutschland und die Vereinigten Staaten in der Weltpolitik*, p. 1943). Indeed, here in the twentieth century was another Henry, like the former standing in the "shadow of the Titan," a nervous, excitable, moody, vain Hohenzollern Titan. Are there not, it may be suggested, constants in Hohenzollern character? Do not the earlier Henry and Frederick—like the later Henry and William—exhibit a coldness and rancor and spitefulness toward even the closest relative that might be called typically Hohenzollern? Do not both exhibit that same disregard for women and womanhood, that misogyny which characterizes so many members of that house? But the author has found it more "decent" not to enter upon a discussion of this side of the personal life of the brothers, although their contemporaries were far from reticent on this score. Instead he has embraced the dry discretion of the official and officious Hohenzollern historians, the Prussian blue and Berlin black of the history painting which fills the tomes of the *Forschungen zur Brandenburgischen und Preussischen Geschichte* and kindred publications; he is far closer to Volz than to Hegemann, who offered at least a new impetus for the rewriting of Frederician history. Even though Professor Easum sums up with the saying that "Prussia might well have judged him more kindly than she has done" (p. 378), his opinion is not worlds apart from that of the Borussians, who will find his book embracing a goodly portion of the Hohenzollern legend (e.g., p. 229), or the *kleindeutsch* version of Frederician history (p. 336). A biography of Henry should hardly omit the worst criticisms he made of the king, if only to make the record complete, including his remarks to Catherine of Russia about Frederick's mania for writing verse in camp—"that his royal brother always prepared such verses beforehand and pulled them out of his pockets in difficult situations so that one would be surprised to see how he had still preserved enough presence of mind to write delectable poetry" (Th. Schieman, "Die Noten der Kaiserin Katharina II. zu Denina: Essai," etc., *Forsch. Brandenburg. u. Preuss. Gesch.*, XV², 223 ff.). The full revelation of this fraternal viciousness would have made more interesting the fact that Henry, in spite of it all, could still become "a sort of puissance for his brother," as Clausewitz characterizes their military relationships which culminated in the winning of the last battle of the Seven Years' War, Freiberg, by Henry for Frederick.

Military and diplomatic activities form the bulk of this biography, crowding out Henry's contacts, slight as they were, with Voltaire or Goethe, the latter remarking about him that he was as much "the vassal" of Voltaire as Frederick. In the diplomatic field a fairly high credit for initiative and execution is given the prince for the preparation of the first partition of Poland. From the military field he is not dismissed without credit, though his role as a general might have been discussed with great advantage had Clausewitz' opinions been drawn upon to a larger extent. The military historian would have liked to know whether or not Clausewitz was right in ascribing to Henry a great part in the devising of that cordon system which proved so fatal in the war of the monarchies against revolu-

tionary France (Clausewitz, *Hinterlassene Werke*, X, 109, 125, 243-44, 252-53). At such points as these there were offered occasions to place Henry in a larger context, to make out of his life something which need not have terminated with his death in 1802, to have included a history of the *Nachruhm*, of the estimation in which he was held by posterity. Instead of a wider and straighter frame, the author has chosen the loose framework of the *rocaille* style, formed by short curves that leave much uncaught and undecided. We have something resembling the "shell room" in which Henry entertained in Rheinsberg, elegant but stiff, with a design belonging rather to Berlin than Wisconsin.

Sherman, Connecticut

ALFRED VAGTS

FRANCE AND THE LEVANT, FROM THE BOURBON RESTORATION TO THE PEACE OF KUTIAH. By *Vernon John Puryear*. With an Introduction by Henri Hauser. [University of California Publications in History, Volume XXVII.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1941. Pp. xvi, 252. \$2.50.)

PROFESSOR Puryear is already well known as the author of a number of important studies on the relation of the European Powers with the Near East. In this monograph his approach to the subject is much broader than that of many diplomatic historians. As he traces the complicated web of French and of general European diplomacy in the Levant from the downfall of the Napoleonic Empire to 1833, his emphasis is rather on commercial policies than on the political and military aspects of the balance of power system, though these aspects are by no means neglected. He shows the revival, after 1815, of French interest in the trade of the Levant, first in Greece and in other parts of Turkey, and then explains why, after 1824, it extended to Egypt and, after 1829, to Algeria. He writes:

French policy was hesitant at the beginning, reflecting the defeat of 1814. . . . But success came after two decades, whether from the beginnings of the new empire in Algeria, or through the less tangible indirect penetration through Egypt. French policy in the Near East was inevitably connected with the recovery of the French position of equality in the European states' system. Her return to the Near East restored France to her traditional rôle in the Mediterranean, while making Egypt the pivot of her policy returned her to the concept, but not the method of Bonaparte in 1798. . . . Economic recovery, a fundamental part of the program of the Restoration, made the Levant one of its chief avenues.

The whole story is worked through with elaborate detail. Puryear's book is based on the best secondary works and monographs, on extended and thorough research in the archives of Berlin, Vienna, London, and Paris, and on manuscript materials he discovered at Marseilles. The author assumes a detailed knowledge of the diplomacy of the period, and he is himself so immersed in his material that the monograph is at times difficult to follow. The book is, nevertheless, a valuable contribution full of fresh material. The bibliography of printed materials on the

diplomatic and commercial history of the Near East from 1815 to 1833 is the best available. This study will prove especially interesting to students of French commercial policy, of Turkish policy, of the background of the Greek Revolution, and of the activities of Mehemet Ali in Egypt. Nowhere in the literature of these subjects has the interplay of commercial, naval, military, and diplomatic policies been so well integrated.

Oberlin College

FREDERICK B. ARTZ

LORD LIVERPOOL AND LIBERAL TORYISM, 1820 TO 1827. By W. R. Brock, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. [Thirlwall Prize Essay, 1939.] (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1941. Pp. 298. \$2.25.)

THE original form of the present work, an essay that won the Thirlwall Prize in 1939, was rewritten in the following months, with the inclusion of some new material. Minor errata are more than usually excusable, since "the revision has been unduly hurried owing to the imminence of military service, and the proofs have been read in a barrack room."

The volume is an interesting as well as a valuable study of a transition period in British history, when High Toryism was declining and Liberalism had not yet attained its full strength. The reaction following the Napoleonic Wars was such that the government survived with the greatest difficulty, and only through changes in personnel and the adoption of new policies. As the author says, "To have kept the government in being, and to have done so without ostentation and without dictatorial methods, was perhaps Lord Liverpool's greatest achievement."

Of the fifteen years during which Liverpool was prime minister, the emphasis here is on the last seven. During this critical period George IV learned to accept ministers whom he did not like; a cabinet of fifteen members, of widely divergent opinions and personalities, had to be held together; while it was necessary to retain parliamentary majorities without adequate party organization and to take some account of developing public opinion. In spite of such complexities, a new era was inaugurated along economic, foreign, and colonial lines, for the inception of which Robinson, Huskisson, and Canning have hitherto had the prestige.

To most historians Liverpool has been a "dim and elusive figure," especially since "he did not speak in the House of Commons, and . . . his influence can only be gauged from ministerial correspondence and from a surmise of private conversations." The purpose of Mr. Brock has been, therefore, to present the accomplishments as well as the difficulties of those formative years, and at the same time to show that it was Liverpool whose quiet, unassuming leadership shaped events. His integrity, tact, and kindness won the respect and confidence of all upon whom he had to depend. It was he who was responsible for a ministry whose policies and legislation were "a great heritage to the succeeding years."

The author therefore concludes that "it is not altogether fantastic to call this most cautious and least inspired of Prime Ministers, one of the architects of the nineteenth century."

One of the most serious omissions of the book is the failure of the author to use, or even to include in his bibliography, the latest works on Huskisson. These would have shown him how "the greatest practical financier of his age," as Temperley called him, may have affected the budget making of the easygoing Robinson without the necessity of Liverpool acting as an intermediary. Furthermore, a study of the board of trade papers would have given evidence of the strength of Huskisson as president of the board and, together with the records of the foreign office, would have indicated his influence upon foreign and colonial policy, more particularly in the making of commercial treaties and in diplomatic negotiations with the United States.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

ANNA LANE LINGELBACH

THE HABSBURG MONARCHY, 1815-1918: A HISTORY OF THE AUSTRIAN EMPIRE AND AUSTRIA-HUNGARY. By *A. J. P. Taylor*, Fellow and Tutor of Magdalen College, Oxford. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1941. Pp. xii, 315. \$3.00.)

THE author states in the preface that this volume is "concerned solely with the imperial organization, with its weaknesses, its difficulties, its successes, and its final failure." It covers only the period of the Austrian Empire from 1815 to 1867 and of Austria-Hungary from 1867 to 1918. The author does not claim to write "the history of Austria, [for which] one must know seventeen languages and live ten times as long as mortal man." He has chosen more modestly to trace only the imperial thread of this extremely complex historical institution. Only when some one of the many factors in the whole picture influences the imperial system does he try to bring it under analysis. For that reason he does not trace "changes in popular life" or economic development. And he reduces the treatment of foreign policy "to a minimum."

The author indicates that his only justification for writing this volume was that he had no "pet" nationality. To this reviewer it seems that he has endeavored to do a sincere job of it, even though scholars of several of these nationalities may not agree with him. They will think that he actually leans toward the so-called "historic" nations and particularly toward the Magyars. And they may draw this inference from the impression that he has not studied the literature on the subject in their languages as thoroughly as he has that in German and perhaps in Magyar.

With these limitations and with their effects clearly understood on a work dealing with as complex a subject as this, the reviewer is of the opinion that this volume is the best thus far written in any language in fundamental analysis, in keen penetration, and in literary style. It abounds in pungent descriptions and in expressions demonstrating remarkable insight, even if at times there is a touch

of the facetious or even the flippant concealed within. It is a refreshing piece of work in every respect.

Many who know the historical ins and outs of Central Europe will enjoy the statement that "the Magyar politicians . . . had foisted the grotesque myth of liberal Hungary on Europe for fifty years and had deceived, and were to deceive, far more experienced parliamentarians than these Croat novices [of 1868, 1906]," or the one describing the last advisers of Charles, who were "professors of the type of Redlich and Lammasch . . . the last feeble transmitters of the high-falutin smoke-screen about Austria's 'cultural mission' . . . (which meant in practice Slav peoples fighting to establish German supremacy)."

It would be hard to agree, however, that there was "no opposition" to the World War in the monarchy (p. 278), and few will completely share the view that in 1908 Italy was a "ridiculous simulacrum of a national state, impressive only to professional diplomats and literary visitors" (p. 268). One has the distinct feeling also that, taking into account the self-imposed limitations, the author's treatment of foreign policy is the least successful of the important factors affecting his central theme. It may well be that one may have to go back to 1526, if not beyond, to find answers to some of the problems that were to play dominant roles in the final scene at the demise of the monarchy in 1918.

University of California

ROBERT J. KERNER

A WAVERING FRIENDSHIP: RUSSIA AND AUSTRIA, 1876-1878. By George Hoover Rupp. [Harvard Historical Studies.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1941. Pp. xiv, 599. \$5.00.)

"For Russian-Austrian relations, the Congress of Berlin was anti-climax; anti-climax and the divorce court." That fate might have been averted had the Dreikaiserbund, solidly united within itself, unreservedly sanctioned an aggressive, joint advance into the Balkans and co-operated in imposing a durable settlement. At Reichstadt laurel, not ashes, had been envisaged by Gorchakov and Andrassy.

The national urge of South Slavs, Pan-Slav intrigues designed to further the project of a Balkan federation under Russian aegis, coupled with the economic interests and desire for salvage of Austria after her reverses in Italy and Germany, contributed to bring the Eastern Question again to the fore when the Ottoman sultan failed to curb promptly a minor insurrection of the summer of 1875 in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Andrassy note, the Berlin memorandum, and the Serb-Montenegrin plunge into war with Turkey were the preludes to the Russo-Austrian "friendly, oral accord" contemplating aggrandizement, arrived at in the Bohemian castle of Reichstadt, July 8, 1876. Thereafter, in orderly detail, *A Wavering Friendship* presents in excellent manner the imponderables which prompted the policies of the separate states comprising the Dreikaiserbund and checked the fruition of the dreams of Reichstadt.

The foreign policy of the Dual Monarchy was "dictated" by Francis Joseph. In that, Dr. Rupp endorses Redlich's views. The emperor "was the driver and held the reins; Andr ssy was the horse" (p. 73). Both considered it a matter of vital concern that the Habsburg realm acquire Bosnia-Herzegovina. Francis Joseph desired the provinces as a practical step in the aggrandizement of his royal house; the Dalmatian coast must obtain its necessary hinterland. Andr ssy, "like all true Hungarians, wished to keep the Slavs in their places and to maintain the Magyar supremacy over them" (p. 75). Above all, Austria could not permit the erection on her borders of a great South-Slav state, either under Serbia as Piedmont of the Balkans or under the sway of Russia, since the very existence of the Dual Monarchy would thereby be seriously endangered. By the Budapest conventions of January and March, 1877, "the establishment of a great compact Slavic or other State" was definitely excluded, and contemplated territorial changes were more specific than in the earlier Reichstadt agreement. Austria remained loyal to her commitments throughout the ensuing Russo-Turkish conflict until Russia, flushed by victory, imposed her own terms of peace upon the Porte. Those included a Great Bulgaria extending to the Aegean. Andr ssy and Francis Joseph were completely disillusioned over such high-handed, unilateral action; relations became most strained. By June, 1878, the break with Russia was "sharp and definite," and the Congress of Berlin "did nothing to heal the chasm" (p. 535).

The Russian house had all along been divided, despite the guiding hand of Alexander II. The tsar longed to regain Bessarabia and favored a strong Balkan program. Generally, Alexander placed full confidence in his chancellor, the aged and "muddle-headed" Prince Gorchakov, but he gradually gave a more willing ear to Ignatyev, "rampant high-priest of Pan-Slavism." Gorchakov and Ignatyev were arch-opponents and intrigued constantly against each other. Ignatyev, although ambassador at Constantinople, was not for some time even informed of the arrangements of Reichstadt and Budapest. In turn, Ignatyev frequently overstepped the instructions of Gorchakov. San Stefano marked a triumph for Ignatyev, but it also proved to be his undoing. The dire threats of Austria and Britain forced Russia to accept a "European" settlement at Berlin, which soured both chancellor and tsar.

The foregoing summary gives solely the broad theme of the author's meticulous study. Actually, everything that touched upon Russian-Austrian relations is skillfully included. His comments on the thought and role of Bismarck, "Everybody's Friend," are somewhat repetitious but sound. The book contains a mine of vivid, synoptic information on the personnel engaged in Dreikaiserbund and Balkan diplomacy. It has good contemporary illustrations of the leading characters, appendixes, a well-prepared index, and a selected bibliography which evaluates the materials consulted. Dr. Rupp's volume excels other studies in its field and merits the highest praise.

New York University

WALTER G. WIRTHWEIN

THE PRIMROSE LEAGUE, 1883-1906. By *Janet Henderson Robb*. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1942. Pp. 258. \$3.25.)

THE Primrose League was organized in 1883 for the dual purpose of preserving the memory of Benjamin Disraeli, deceased two years earlier, and as an electioneering device for the Conservative party. The organization exhibited a curious blend of sentimentality, mummary, and shrewd political calculation. Named after what had allegedly been Disraeli's favorite flower, it was provided with trappings such as grand master, knights, dames, habitations, councils, stars, badges, and clasps not unlike those of some American fraternal organizations and the Ku Klux Klan. The league capitalized on the strange mixture of snobbery and flunkeyism among the English laboring classes which in the Victorian and Edwardian eras made high-born, titled ladies effective campaigners. It also appealed strongly to the average Englishman's attachment to church and empire. Cajolery and blandishment were used effectively by the "knights" and "dames" of the Primrose League as they called upon workingmen in town and country for their votes; and the league wielded much influence in the elections of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. From a modest beginning with 46 habitations or local clubs having a total of 957 knights, dames, and associates in 1884, it grew so mightily that in 1910 it comprised 2,645 habitations with 2,053,019 members of all ranks.

The book under review discusses the origin, membership, and methods of work of the Primrose League; and it makes special efforts to relate the story of the league in the general setting of British history in the nineteenth century. The author has read widely and discriminatingly on and around her subject, and she has done much research in printed and unprinted sources. She supplies fresh information on the various activities of the Primrose League; and chapter III, which deals with its method of work, will be found valuable for students of British politics. The weakness of the book lies in the author's effort to cover too much territory. She darts back and forth in such a fashion that both the general background and the organization and work of the league are blurred. The reader may be compelled to consult Lowell, *The Government of England*, II, 8-13, for a picture of what the Primrose League really was, how it was organized and functioned. Many topics are touched of which the author must of necessity have rather limited knowledge, with the result that the general perspective becomes a bit distorted; and occasionally judgments are offered which have more than doubtful validity. For instance, the reviewer feels that to describe as "far-seeing" the British imperialists of the eighties who opposed home rule for Ireland (p. 188) is to confuse obliqueness and range of vision; and he disagrees absolutely with the assertion (p. 6) that late Victorian and Edwardian England exhibited "buoyant confidence in a future of ever increasing prosperity and ever deepening security." On the contrary, he believes that in that period doubt and fear were casting ever-deepening shadows over John Bull's tight little island.

University of Wisconsin

PAUL KNAPLUND

BEHEMOTH: THE STRUCTURE AND PRACTICE OF NATIONAL SOCIALISM. By *Franz Neumann*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1942. Pp. xvii, 532. \$4.00.)

THIS is not just another book about Nazi Germany. It is the most significant attempt yet made at a scholarly and painstaking analysis, based almost exclusively upon German sources, of the background, working principles and practices, and present state of National-Socialist Germany. The author does not claim to have found the answers to all the questions which he raises. Nor has he sought to examine all aspects of the subject, for he has paid little attention to agriculture, government finance, and cultural activities. On the other hand, he has gathered all the information available from dozens of German periodicals and newspapers and scores of books and pamphlets concerning the general "political pattern," as he calls it, the totalitarian economy, and the social setup in terms of rulers and ruled. He has delved into the past for the historical roots of German thinking and has culled from it little-known examples of concepts which are today embraced by Hitler and his followers. He has been led to reject many of the accepted explanations of both the origin and character of the National-Socialist ideology and practice.

Here are some of his conclusions: The lack of an adequate social and political theory and of competent leaders permitted the development in the Weimar Republic of antidemocratic forces that, with the help or acquiescence of the masses, put Germany on the path of imperialist expansion along which the National Socialists were eager to lead them. The National Socialists, however, except for their "racial imperialism," have no theory of politics, economics, or society but only "techniques of domination." Far from erecting a totalitarian state, they have rejected it as an idea and have actually sharpened rather than softened internal antagonisms. Today there are four contending forces in Germany—the army, the bureaucracy, industry with its highly developed monopoly capitalism, and the Nazi party—which are united only in their desire for conquest and their willingness to convert Germany "into an armed camp under iron discipline." German economy today is not state capitalism, if that term is properly understood, nor have the Nazis sought to establish it, but it is "a monopolistic economy—and a command economy," the one being an outcome of the historical trend in Germany and the other an imperfectly imposed and complementary system which the Nazis have erected in an effort to prepare for and wage war. "National Socialism can in the psychological field be defeated only by a political theory that proves as efficient as National Socialism without sacrificing the liberties of man" (p. 476).

Despite the erudition and the critical method of research which are evident throughout the work, the author is not always convincing. His approach to his subject is one that might be expected of a former member of the Berlin bar who was for a time counsel to the German trade unions. It is philosophical and legalistic, with much weight given to socio-economic factors. Although he takes great pains to explain his point of view and, indeed, has written a series of valuable essays on

political and social theory within his book on National Socialism, his social philosophy often seems too metaphysical and his conclusions too doctrinaire. He creates the suspicion at times, and especially with reference to German masses and classes and to the interrelations of big business, the bureaucracy, and the Nazi party, that what might be obvious to the naked eye may have escaped him. In other words, this book, packed with information not hitherto available in English and noteworthy for originality and acumen, attempts to prove too much by arguments too dependent upon a preconceived thesis.

Clark University

DWIGHT E. LEE

THE FRANCE OF TOMORROW. By *Albert Guérard*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1942. Pp. xxi, 287. \$3.50.)

ALTHOUGH the normal task of the historian is to study the past with a scientific impartiality that takes no concern in the irrelevancies of the present and the future, times such as these make doubly apparent the further obligation resting upon all intelligent scholars of offering what they can to assist their fellows in an age of crisis. It is in such a spirit that Professor Guérard has written this volume.

The introduction, from which the book takes its title, outlines the subsequent chapters. On pages 23 and 24 the whole case for the future of France is presented: first, that France can live again only in a freely united western Europe; second, that in this area there must be racial, religious, national, and linguistic equality; third, that there should be liberty of thought and expression; fourth, that all empires based on force be disbanded; fifth, that free trade must prevail in this federal Europe; and, lastly, that a common social legislation should encompass the whole union.

The main body of the volume opens with a section devoted to Franco-German relations. The subject is viewed largely from the French side, both culturally and historically, but without a noticeable bias, except, perhaps, when the attempt is made to pin French foreign policy before 1914, as well as before 1939, too singly to a somewhat unchivalrous England. Yet this is only a minor complaint, giving character to a book frankly not intended as a treatise, and it is more than offset by a penetrating discussion of what the French meant by "*La Revanche*" and a revealingly fresh portrait of Clemenceau.

The second part of the volume is its best historically. Subtitled "Democracy in France," it gives an unusually incisive analysis of the society of the Third Republic as it exposed its peculiarities in education, government, and reform; an essay on parliamentarianism concludes with a call for its abolishment and the preservation of liberty by other means.

The final section of the book deals with those matters which are closest to Professor Guérard's purpose. The western European federation which he proposes, and which by no means is meant to preclude world organization, he believes can function to ensure peace only if its larger states are subdivided in order to achieve

complete cultural autonomy. By thus breaking the impossible union of politics, territory, and nationality, separate answers to the problems of each can be found where heretofore the unitary solution has always failed. As a further measure the suggestion is made that a new official language should be employed, and the arguments advanced seem neither artificial nor impractical.

Professor Guérard's book is acknowledgedly not a work of history, yet almost every paragraph is barbed with pithy historical allusion. Much of it deals with a hypothetical future, but at no time does it seem flighty. Perhaps it might best be summed up as one of those cullings of chips from the historian's bench which upon rare occasions make a volume of unusual and timely significance.

University of Kansas City

HENRY BERTRAM HILL

Far Eastern History

BRITISH RULE IN EASTERN ASIA: A STUDY OF CONTEMPORARY GOVERNMENT AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN BRITISH MALAYA AND HONG KONG. By *Lennox A. Mills*, Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Minnesota. [Issued under the Auspices of the Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations International Research Series.] (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1942. Pp. viii, 581. \$5.00.)

THIS is not a history of these two British Asiatic dependencies. Professor Mills in a previous work had already supplied the world of scholarship with the history of an important period of British rule in Malaya. Nevertheless, the study is of the greatest importance for students of history, for it gives a description and analysis of the governmental and economic structure of these two dependencies at the end of a historic epoch. At no other centers in the world, with the exception of Shanghai, was the conflict of Eastern and Western forces as concentrated as at Hong Kong and Singapore.

In Malaya the British governed a heterogeneous population by means of an extremely complicated government. The Straits Settlements were governed directly as a Crown Colony, while the Federated and Unfederated Malay States represented different forms and degrees of indirect rule. In the Unfederated Malay States the sultans exercised considerable authority; in the Federated States they were little more than figureheads. The chief problem of government in Malaya, as in all the dependencies of that region, is to reconcile the legitimate interests of foreign capital and the immigrant peoples with the right of the indigenous population to a steadily larger control over the government of their own country. In Malaya this problem was unusually difficult, since the more aggressive Chinese and Indians outnumber the native Malays. The attempt to maintain Western standards of administration in an Eastern society presented numerous problems. British Malaya, like all "backward" countries, had almost unlimited social needs

but only a limited income to provide for them. Only Western production can begin to furnish the revenues for these social needs on anything like Western standards, but the encouragement of Western capital and enterprise in turn creates other problems. Professor Mills's careful study clearly reveals how complicated the economic, social, and political problems of this important and strategic area are. His conclusion that "the future of the Malays is an enigma" is therefore not surprising.

The problem of Hong Kong was less complicated but extremely difficult, nevertheless. Its proximity to China and a population overwhelmingly Chinese naturally made for friction and obstruction. The British genius for government was demonstrated by the amount of harmony and co-operation achieved in a difficult situation.

Regardless of the forms of postwar reconstruction in Southeastern Asia, the Japanese invasion brought to a close an epoch in the history of that area. Hence a study of the political and economic situation in Hong Kong and British Malaya on the eve of the Japanese occupation is of very great value. Especially is this true when the study is of the very high quality of the volume under review. The study is not based solely on documents; Professor Mills visited the dependencies and had countless interviews with officials and others on the spot. The study is enriched by comparisons and contrasts with American policy and experience in the Philippines and of the Dutch in the Indies.

University of Kentucky

AMRY VANDENBOSCH

AMERICAN POLICY IN THE FAR EAST, 1931-1941. Revised edition. By T. A. Bisson. With a Supplementary Chapter by Miriam S. Farley. [I.P.R. Inquiry Series.] (New York: International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations. 1941. Pp. xiii, 206. \$1.75.)

THE student or the general reader who desires a compact, detailed account of official American policy in the Far East from the so-called Manchurian incident of September, 1931, to August, 1941, three months before the Japanese assault on Pearl Harbor, will find that Mr. Bisson's study, supplemented with the chapter by Miss Farley, answers this need. The major reservation to be borne in mind is that this study, like so many in contemporary history, is based necessarily in the main on those pronouncements which governments have seen fit to make public.

Following an introductory chapter surveying American policy (1899-1931), the subject is treated under the following topics: the Manchurian crisis, 1931-33; Japanese pressure on China, 1933-37; the failure of naval limitation; friction in Japanese-American trade, 1933-36; the Philippine Commonwealth; the Sino-Japanese War, 1937-39; American interest in the Far Eastern Crisis; and, finally, relations with the European war (September, 1939-August, 1941), by Miss Farley.

Mr. Bisson tells the factual story of official policy, insofar as it is known, with clarity and ability. The validity of his interpretations is, however, in some cases

open to question. In the introductory historical survey (chap. 1) the analysis of the Open Door policy (pp. 5-6 and 8) does not appear to be wholly sound. The Hay policy *in application* revealed the weakness, not the strength, of the American position in China from 1900 to 1922. Specifically the United States stood for equal opportunity in a China dominated by spheres of influence. So long as spheres flourished, the Open Door could be little more than a pious hope. Furthermore, the conclusion that "the United States was extraordinarily successful in attaining its general aims" (p. 10) during the decade 1900-1910 appears to conflict with the fact that it was in this period that Russia and Japan, citing American dollar diplomacy as the pretext, signed the secret treaties (1907-10) reinforcing their respective Manchurian spheres, thus relegating the Open Door to a still more remote position.

Mr. Bisson fails to show why it was that American public opinion (1931-40) did not regard our Far Eastern interests as vital, though he does argue vigorously that these interests were both real and vital. Nevertheless, he suggests (p. 98), but does not develop, a thesis which explains the basis on which the American people have accepted with one mind war in the Far East. It could hardly be maintained that the security of the United States would remain unaffected by a complete success of aggression, both in Europe and in Asia. The political interest of the United States in the Far Eastern conflict is, in fact, part and parcel of its general interest in the maintenance of world stability and peace.

Duke University

PAUL H. CLYDE

MODERN INDIA AND THE WEST: A STUDY OF THE INTERACTION OF THEIR CIVILIZATIONS. Edited by L. S. S. O'Malley. With a Foreword by the Lord Meston. [Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1941. Pp. xii, 834. \$10.00.)

INDIA & DEMOCRACY. By Sir *George Schuster* and *Guy Wint*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1941. Pp. xvi, 444. \$5.00.)

NEITHER of these volumes is a history, nor has any historian contributed to either, yet each, especially the first, is rich in historical data and is a work of distinct historical value. For the present, they are convenient surveys of their respective subjects, embodying a wealth of carefully selected information and opinion not easily available elsewhere. For the future, they will be extremely valuable records of Indian conditions and thought of 1940, made by very competent and judicious observers. Though each volume is written for a specific and immediate purpose and hence is, in a sense, propaganda, each is characterized by studious effort at impartiality and by sympathetic interest in India's welfare. Each will be criticized severely by extreme conservatives and by extreme radicals, by single-eyed British, Hindus, and Moslems, but such criticisms will testify to the essential reliability and fair-mindedness of the several authors. The style is matter-of-fact and compressed but clear—Mr. Wint alone has attained a good degree of fluency.

The two works are complementary and, taken together, afford an understanding of present-day India and its problems that would scarcely be equaled by any half-dozen other volumes.

With all allowances, Mr. Wint's contribution is the gem of the two volumes, for he approached his problem as a specialist in the study of government called in as an outside expert. He came to his two years of study of Indian problems on the ground from four years of similar study in China. Consequently he is able to explain the issues confronting one great Asiatic people in the light of the experience of the only other comparable nation. Numerous illuminating observations result from his unusual basis of understanding and judgment. His discriminating portrait of Mr. Gandhi merits special mention.

Sir George Schuster, a veteran Anglo-Indian official, analyzes the present problems of India not so much in the light of history as in the light of the present world situation. He insists that the internal questions of India and the questions of British and Indian relations must be treated separately. So, while he recognizes willingly that India must be conceded full equality in the British Commonwealth, he insists that internal conditions—particularly the communal problem and military defense—require Britain as an arbiter for some time to come. He stresses the welfare of the people of India as the prime object of both British and Indian effort. Sir George is shrewd, illuminating, and broadminded if not convincing.

Modern India is essentially the concept and work of Mr. O'Malley, an Indian civil servant, who unfortunately died before the volume came from the press. He wrote almost exactly one half of the volume, and the sections prepared by the seventeen contributors bear clear evidence of his planning and editorial integration. While his frame of reference is nominally the cultural interrelations of the West and India, practically his purpose is to determine whether the impact of British rule and culture on India has been for good or ill to the people of India. The conclusions are that, in any case, India would have undergone more or less the same experiences; that no other outside power would have done as well by India as has Britain; that there is no evidence to warrant belief that any power native to India could have accomplished as much; that mistakes have been made and much suffering engendered but that the evil results would have been at least as bad under any other control; and that India has many substantial achievements to its credit since the beginning of British rule in 1757, notably since 1858, and pre-eminently since 1900.

India has not been a passive recipient of gifts from the West. India has produced her own leaders who have received or resisted the stimuli from outside or who have made independent contributions to the life of India and even of the world at large. No one can prove whether Indian originality, initiative, and achievement have been enhanced, retarded, or unaffected by Western influences and British rule. On the other hand, no one can deny that many Indians have proved their ability to keep pace with the world's leaders in cultural progress.

Whatever may be the case with the small proportion of the literate and the well-to-do in India, the staggering facts of the ignorance, poverty, and isolation of 90 per cent of the people of that overpopulated country remain. Here are the great problems. There is so much to be done and so little to do it with. To date, India has fared better than China, but it may be asked whether the Indian nationalists have done as much to educate and uplift their masses as have the present-day leaders in China.

The present writers, like most others, are so impressed with the seriousness of India's problems that they tend to regard them as peculiar to India, whereas they differ in degree rather than in kind from those of other countries. The time factor—one might call it India's cultural lag—has escaped attention. The steady decrease in the period of lag is certainly of some significance. There are, however, very significant synchronisms between the West and India, but these are rarely noted for circumstances prior to the depressions of the 1890's. Since then their importance is inescapable, and this is, perhaps, the most significant fact in India's present situation. India is now in the full current of world affairs.

Wesleyan University

GEORGE MATTHEW DUTCHER

MODERN BURMA: A SURVEY OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. By *John Leroy Christian*. [Issued under the Auspices of the International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1942. Pp. ix, 381. \$3.00.)

THIS is an excellent and comprehensive account of modern Burma; it is very welcome not only for its timeliness (it includes the earlier part of the Japanese invasion) but even more for its reliability and impartiality. Professor Christian spent eight years in Burma as principal of a technical school. He writes with wide knowledge of the country and its peoples; and the very exhaustive bibliography is one evidence of the thoroughness with which he has covered the documentary material. One very useful feature of this bibliography is the critical appraisal of the principal works upon Burma.

The opening chapters give a brief history of the independent kingdom of Burma, the British conquest, and the Anglo-French rivalry of fifty years ago. This is followed by chapters on the constitutional history of Burma during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the form of government established in 1937, and the Burmese political parties. Economic affairs are covered in chapters on the condition of the Burmese cultivator, the enterprises under foreign control, and the labor problem. These chapters shed a great deal of light on the reasons for the fifth-column movement in Burma. Indian immigrants were regarded as foreigners even when permanently settled in Burma; and a large part of the Burmese rice growers were hopelessly in debt to Indian bankers, owing, in many cases, to excessive and unnecessary borrowing. The Burmese also greatly resented the control of retail trade by Indians and the competition of Indian laborers. The result

was a series of violent outbreaks against the Indians in the thirties. The British protected them against discriminatory legislation, and the hostility which they thereby incurred was one reason why a minority of Burmese assisted the Japanese invaders. Another section of the book deals with the medical service, the system of education, and the very weak defenses of the country. The educational situation is much the same as in most Asiatic countries: a surplus of candidates for sedentary employment and a shortage of technically trained men and mechanics, owing to the *silkh longyi* (white collar) complex of the students. The section on foreign affairs includes chapters on relations with India, China, and Siam, and the building of the Burma road. There is an interesting account of the nineteenth century attempts to build a railway to China. A brief epilogue covers the events of the latter part of 1941. There are an appendix of constitutional documents and trade and revenue returns, an index, and a map.

Professor Christian's views on the degree of democracy are interesting. He shows that the introduction of partial self-government in 1922 virtually coincided with the first demand for it, and that the pace of the advance was perhaps too rapid for the Burmese to keep up with. "In 1937 a full-blown cabinet system and party government were introduced into a Burma that had, in the opinion of competent observers, too little experience with responsible government." His account of the caliber of the Burmese politicians is not encouraging; and he clearly feels that to confer complete dominion status in 1941, as the premier U Saw demanded, would have been premature. Professor Christian has treated a very complex situation with great clarity and thoroughness, and he displays a power of shrewd and penetrating insight. Whatever changes the war introduces, it cannot alter the fundamental facts of the situation as he has described them. His book will be indispensable when the time comes for reconstruction.

University of Minnesota

LENNOX A. MILLS

American History

AMERICAN JOURNALISM: A HISTORY OF NEWSPAPERS IN THE UNITED STATES THROUGH 250 YEARS, 1690 TO 1940. By *Frank Luther Mott*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1941. Pp. ix, 772. \$5.50.)

FROM his history of American magazines Dr. Mott has turned to an even more difficult task, a thorough and comprehensive history of American newspapers from *Publick Occurrences* in 1690 down to the founding of *PM*. Such a volume was much needed, for none of his predecessors came within hailing distance of success; Frederic Hudson's huge book was a jumble of ill-arranged and often undependable materials, while the more recent volumes by James Melvin Lee and George Henry Payne were sketchy, superficial, and textbookish. The difficulties of the subject are in fact appalling. A conscientious historian of journalism has to deal with literally

tens of thousands of dailies, with constant shifts in editorial policy, and with broader changes in the whole character of the press from era to era; he must trace the relations of newspapers with politics, wars, literature, and economic forces; he has to cover mechanical improvements, changes in news-gathering methods, widening concepts of reader-interest, and such innovations as pictures, comic strips, syndicates, and special columns; he must record salient trends in circulation, advertising, printing costs, and other business items; and he must describe the impact of famous editorial personalities upon public opinion. Monographic material being still scanty, much of this task involves personal delving in a mountain of files. It is high praise to Dr. Mott to say that he has in great degree surmounted his difficulties, producing a book that is judiciously arranged, well proportioned, richly detailed, and at many points novel, and yet that is no mere encyclopedic compilation but a continuously readable narrative.

As was inevitable, the volume has certain defects. Some (the least important) are matters of detail. We can object that the author does not put a sure finger on the causes of those sad tragedies, the death of the New York *World* and practical death of the New York *Evening Post*; that he does not even mention, except in passing, Lippmann's admirable editorship of the *World*, nor mention at all Simeon Strunsky's editorship of the *Evening Post*; that he gives only eight lines to the Gannett chain. Going further back, we might deplore such matters as minor inaccuracies in treating Tammany journalism and dismissal of the Boston *Atlas* in one sentence. More important are some defects of emphasis. The decline of the editorial page is not really discussed and is not correlated with the rise of our political columnists. The magnificent reporting of international affairs by foreign correspondents of the Chicago *Daily News*, New York *Times*, and other journals in the years 1930-40 is but hurriedly glanced at, and then only in its relations to *war* correspondence. The history of the A.P. in the last generation is given the barest factual summary (two thirds of a page, 1914-40), with no attention to certain pregnant issues involved in the record. Still more important are some of Dr. Mott's failures to get well beneath the surface. He raises our expectations by remarking in his preface that he is interested in history mainly for help in meeting present and future problems; yet at some points he does not do as much as he could in treating the press as a social mechanism. Its mutations and development are not carefully interrelated with general social and economic change in America. Sometimes a specific omission is striking. Thus in treating syndicates Dr. Mott offers interesting factual data on their origin, the part played in their early history by Irving Bacheller and S. S. McClure, and their content. But he fails to relate the syndicate to the growth of literature and magazines, does not explore its economic history, and does not analyze its impact on daily journalism; that is, it is hardly dealt with as a social mechanism at all.

But such shortcomings seem small in comparison with the varied and solid merits of this imposing history. It is not only the best record of American journalism yet published but a far better book (in view of the gaps in monographic

material) than we had any right to expect and a work that will long defy competition. Its fullness and freshness are notable. It is brightly and amusingly written, with due attention to the great outstanding journals and to the commanding editors, from Franklin, Isaiah Thomas, and Philip Freneau down to Pulitzer, Ochs, Scripps, William Rockhill Nelson, and William Allen White. News developments are followed with the zest to be expected in the director of a school of journalism; such chapters as "What the Papers Printed at the Turn of the Century" add spice to the tale; and public attitudes toward the press are not forgotten. Amusingly significant anecdotes and apt quotations from editorials and office wits find a place. Above all, the book succeeds in giving an adequate impression of the vitality of the American press, especially since the days of the first Bennett; a vitality immense, steadily developing, and ever more manysided.

Columbia University

ALLAN NEVINS

THE UNITED STATES AND CIVILIZATION. By *John U. Nef*, the University of Chicago. [Charles R. Walgreen Foundation Lectures.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1942. Pp. xviii, 421. \$3.00.)

MR. Nef is an economic historian who perhaps for that reason is convinced that economic objectives are not enough. He is sincerely troubled by the state of civilization in the United States, by the dominance of materialistic values, the confusion in education, shifting standards in every field, the failure even to agree on a satisfying conception of the good life. America is in crisis, but it is less an economic than a moral crisis; it can be met only by a drastic reform in our education which will make moral philosophy central and teach a hierarchy of values that puts first things first on which all shall agree. His earnest but rather repetitious book, after a brief account of the rise of industrialism and an analysis of the falling off of production in our generation, is largely a prolonged diatribe against the state of religion, art, and "thought" in our industrial civilization and an appeal to return to the moral wisdom of the philosophers and saints of the past.

Mr. Nef's humanistic thesis is sound: we are at the end of an epoch, and our deepest problems are moral, concerned with bending our industrial machine and our technical skill to the building of a worthy human life. That life should indeed be devoted, as he affirms on every other page, to righteousness, faith, wisdom, and beauty; economic and political instruments should be means to these moral ends. Mr. Nef's prophetic insistence is needed, cutting through the details of economic programs; and when he remains with these generalities—which, as befits a prophet, he largely does—he can be warmly seconded. His specific criticisms of our commercialism are well taken, and his horrible examples of moral and academic degeneration are both amusing and thought-provoking. They continue a vein widely exploited during the 1920's; but if this debunking of American complacency seems today slightly dated, it is not because we have abandoned

those allegiances. Mr. Nef would probably no longer claim that America's only intellectual leadership has been in undermining thought.

But Mr. Nef teaches at Chicago; and both his diagnosis and his remedy are strongly colored by its president's vigorous views. Our standards, which survived unimpaired in the Christian humanistic tradition until the 1880's, have now utterly collapsed; our principles, discovered by the Greek and Christian philosophers, have been completely forgotten. We have allowed scientific methods to encroach even upon thought. The basic emphasis in natural science is different from that in thought. Science is concerned only with the changeable and fleeting; it aims to establish temporary general laws. Thought sets up standards and principles which are permanent, absolute, and independent of time. They have indeed to be taken on faith: their truth is not susceptible to scientific proof. They are to be found in moral philosophy, "in the Platonic and Aristotelian sense." What Plato, Aristotle, and Aquinas have managed to discover through reason about human life is almost flawless as far as it goes. Guidance concerning ends is found only in the wisdom of the past, kept alive by disinterested philosophers of the present. Mr. Nef cites Maritain and R. H. Tawney.

Mr. Nef is, unfortunately, as sketchy on the nature of science and the causes of its baneful influence as on the character of "thought." Science he always dismisses as "observation and experiment"; "thought" is "intuition and logical construction." In science the mind is dominated by the material; it is not a free agent. In art and moral philosophy and in "thought" generally, the mind is autonomous; since it is "much the same from generation to generation," the standards it creates are immutable. Mr. Nef's position is thus Kantian, though he mentions Kant but once, in a disparaging quotation from Gilson. It would certainly astonish Plato, Aristotle, and Aquinas, who all cherished science, made it fundamental to moral philosophy, and maintained that values are its highest object.

Intellectual history is an exacting discipline, and so is moral philosophy. The former would inquire into the reasons for changes in standards and principles; the latter would examine their adequacy. It would explain why the Greeks teach wisdom and not merely appeal to their authority. And it would show some acquaintance with the long and vigorous development of moral philosophy since the thirteenth century and not dismiss its present achievements with two ludicrous misinterpretations of Dewey. Perhaps it is merely a further illustration of the decay of intellectual standards today that a historical scholar should undertake to write dogmatically in contempt of science and in praise of moral philosophy without knowing much about either. The issues Mr. Nef emphasizes are grave and momentous; they have been exercising the keenest minds for some time, though he is ingenuous enough to say, "It is at the University of Chicago alone that the important problems with which I have attempted to deal have been seriously and continually raised during the last decade." But, unfortunately, to make a real contribution to their clarification and solution, a sense of the need and a satirical pen are not enough. The wisdom of President Hutchins is not enough. Indeed, if

we must turn our backs on historical and scientific knowledge, not even the wisdom of Christian humanism and the moral philosophy of Plato, Aristotle, and Aquinas will be enough.

Columbia University

J. H. RANDALL, JR.

THE INDIANA COMPANY, 1763-1798: A STUDY IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY FRONTIER LAND SPECULATION AND BUSINESS VENTURE. By *George E. Lewis*, University of California at Los Angeles. [Old Northwest Historical Series, IV.] (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1941. Pp. 358. \$6.00.)

IN this volume Mr. Lewis has given an exhaustive account of an episode which so far has been recorded in fragmentary sections. The Indiana Company was organized to secure indemnification in Western lands for the losses of certain Pennsylvania traders as a result of Pontiac's Conspiracy. The persistent struggle for thirty-five years to put this project into effect was typical of the difficulties encountered by other speculative enterprises of this same period, after the French were ousted from the Western lands in 1763. The two business firms, Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan, and Simons, Trent, Frank, and Company, joined forces in the Indiana Company under the leadership of Samuel Wharton and William Trent, respectively. The indefatigable George Croghan, also, was interested, together with Sir William Johnson and Governor William Franklin of New Jersey. The outcome was the Indian grant at Fort Stanwix in 1768 for approximately three and a half million acres in the northern section of present-day West Virginia.

The next step, confirmation by the crown, was more difficult. The grant of 1768 encountered strong disapproval in official circles, and ultimately the Indiana Company merged its plans with those of the Walpole or Grand Ohio Company. Now, with high official blessing, confirmation was comparatively easy, and the draft of the grant to the Vandalia Company had been completed when the outbreak of the Revolution stopped its execution.

The shareholders of a reorganized Indiana Company soon transferred their struggle to Virginia, attempting to secure an acknowledgment of the Indian grant of 1768. But after a hearing, the Virginia assembly refused to validate an Indian grant for land which the state itself claimed. Next, the shareholders appealed to Congress, only to encounter again the strong opposition of Virginia. Soon their claims became involved in the general policy of disposing of the Western lands for the common good rather than for the selfish interests of the land speculators. As a final resort the Indiana Company presented its case to the United States Supreme Court. But the ill luck which had pursued the company reached a climax when the Eleventh Amendment in 1798 prohibited private suits against a state, and thus ended this attempt to set up a proprietary colony west of the Appalachians.

The account of the persistent efforts of the Indiana Company Mr. Lewis has

given with meticulous care, emphasizing main characters and hidden motives. All this is done in rather matter-of-fact fashion, with little if any attempt to achieve literary style. Indeed, it is questionable whether the Indiana Company justifies so detailed a narrative, even if it is based upon scholarly work of a high grade.

University of Cincinnati

BEVERLEY W. BOND, JR.

THE SUPERIOR COURT DIARY OF WILLIAM SAMUEL JOHNSON, 1772-1773, WITH APPROPRIATE RECORDS AND FILE PAPERS OF THE SUPERIOR COURT OF THE COLONY OF CONNECTICUT FOR THE TERMS, DECEMBER, 1772, THROUGH MARCH, 1773. Edited by *John T. Farrell*, Associate Professor of History, the College of New Rochelle. Foreword by Charles E. Clark, United States Circuit Judge, Second Circuit. [American Legal Records, Volume 4, edited for the American Historical Association by the Committee on the Littleton-Griswold Fund.] (Washington: American Historical Association. 1942. Pp. lxx, 293. \$7.50.)

IN the preparation of his interesting *William Samuel Johnson, A Maker of the Constitution*, published in 1937, Mr. George C. Groce found in the Connecticut Historical Society a diary of the cases in which Johnson participated as a judge of the superior court of the colony of Connecticut, from December 22, 1772, to April 1, 1773. This diary, with a foreword by Judge Charles E. Clark, editorial notes by John T. Farrell, and some pertinent collateral records collected by the editor, has been issued as the fourth volume in the series of American Legal Records published by the American Historical Association. The first three volumes of the series—*Proceedings of the Maryland Court of Appeals, 1695-1729*, *Selected Cases of the Mayor's Court of New York City, 1774-1784*, and *Records of the Vice-Admiralty Court of Rhode Island, 1716-1752*—were notable additions to the published source material of American colonial history. This fourth volume maintains the high standard of the earlier volumes in content, editing and indexing, and in the scholarship of its long introduction.

William Samuel Johnson, son of the well-known Reverend Samuel Johnson, was one of the important sons of Connecticut and of Yale. After graduating from Yale with distinction in 1744, he studied for the ministry. But in 1747 he turned to the law, opened an office in Stratford, Connecticut, and, in the course of time, developed an extensive practice. As successively a member of the Connecticut lower house, a representative to the Stamp Act Congress of 1765, a member of the council of Connecticut, and special agent to assist in presenting the colony's side of the locally famous Mohegan land case to the privy council in London, Johnson had had wide experience in public life as well as at the bar, prior to his appointment to the superior court in 1772.

In his discriminating foreword, which is virtually a review of the book, Judge Clark says:

The first reaction which one gets from examining these two hundred and

twenty-eight cases (of which a dozen appear twice) is their freshness and modernity. Thus, we find a substantial number of divorce cases, and this at a time nearly a century before divorce was recognized in the English courts. The causes, too, were not limited to adultery, but included cruelty and desertion (in one case "going off with his Mother in Law"). And some of the difficulties of modern times with jurisdiction appear in the case of *Desire Rawson*, who with her husband "belonged to Yarmouth in Massachusetts Bay." The court had some doubt "on the score of her not being an Inhabitant In this Colony (as she could not be because her Husband remained at Yarmouth) but the Husband consenting, by Letter, Petition Granted." What sounder basis has many a recognized Reno divorce than this? Again we find numerous appeals from probate, . . . all in the modern Connecticut form and with the trial *de novo* as still had. And there are the many cases of slander, in the present-day framework, but indicating what has elsewhere been suggested that this has now become a much less important and less used type of action than of old. And we find the parol-evidence rule in full flower, and the Statute of Frauds requiring, as now, a writing for contracts to convey land.

But, as Judge Clark also points out, some of the other cases bring home strikingly the difference between the present and the time to which they relate. Actions involving slavery, the collection of rates for the maintenance of a minister, and the variety and apparent importance of the cases involving fishing rights in the waters of Connecticut tell their own story of a different age from ours.

Yale University

BERNHARD KNOLLENBERG

OUR LANDED HERITAGE: THE PUBLIC DOMAIN, 1776-1936. By Roy M. Robbins. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1942. Pp. x, 450. \$5.00.)

THESE twenty-four chapters are a synthesis of the history of the public lands from the formation of the public domain in 1776 to 1935, when President Roosevelt withdrew all lands from private entry. The forces of law, economics, and politics have influenced American land policy and have in turn been modified by it. Social forces generated by these interactions created processes of democracy that are basic and profound in American development. The public lands were active elements in the issues of slavery, tariff, finance, and sectionalism.

About equal space is allotted to four stages of land history. Part I to 1850 depicts the settler as the great influence in the occupation of the lands. In Part II the corporation, until about 1862, invaded the lands to challenge the settlers' claims and influence. Between 1862 and 1901 Part III shows the triumph of capital and corporations over the pioneering forces of the settlers. In Part IV the years from 1901 to 1935 include the program of conservation and the setting aside of the remaining public land and resources into a permanent national domain.

This volume and B. H. Hibbard's *A History of the Public Land Policies*, a standard work of 1924, provoke distinct contrasts and comparisons. Both employ charts and maps. This volume has illustrations. Thirty-six tables are listed in Hibbard, but a smaller number in the other. Only a few pages on the topics of

flood control, water power, land frauds, and the relation of the Indian to the public domain appear in Hibbard, but these receive extended accounts in Robbins. More chapters in Robbins than pages in Hibbard describe the policy of conservation. Names like J. W. Powell, Gifford Pinchot, and W. A. J. Sparks are not in the Hibbard work. Hibbard lists 186,000,000 acres of unappropriated lands in 1924. Eleven years later Robbins places the amount at 166,000,000. Statistics and official sources are the core of Hibbard's work, which ends in hope and prophecy. Robbins heralds the passing of the frontier and the end of the era of free lands. *Our Landed Heritage*, however, gives due acknowledgment to the heritage in the valuable Hibbard study of eighteen years earlier.

Both the style and the type invite pleasant reading. The index tools are adequate. The elaborate footnotes on each page reassure and invite the student. At the end of the volume and for each of its four parts the author provides a "Selective Bibliography of Secondary Sources" for further excursions on the public lands. No titles, however, refer to such collections as the great railway colonization records in the Baker Library. There is little evidence that the author used the many public land office records—a veritable Domesday source for the public lands. *The Future of the Great Plains: Report of the Great Plains Committee* (published in 1936) was perhaps not available when the volume reviewed was printed.

This book is a highly valuable synthetic treatment of a century and a half of the complicated history of the public domain. Sober figures and official data are humanized by settlers' accounts, newspapers, and flocks of monographs. Robbins gives more credit to the surveyors and settlers than to statesmen and statutes. Farmers, cattlemen, and immigrants constituted a more powerful force than the speculators. This work is a just and effective sermon on F. J. Turner's text that "These free lands promoted individualism, economic equality, freedom to rise, democracy."

University of Iowa

LOUIS PELZER

ENGLISH WHIGGISM AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By G. H. Guttridge. [University of California Publications in History, Volume XXVIII.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1942. Pp. 153. \$1.50.)

IN this work of 144 pages, which he terms an "essay," Professor Guttridge leaves no doubt at the outset either of his point of view or of the ground he intends to cover. The second sentence of his preface reads: "Its main theme is the relation of partisan divisions to imperial policy, and it originated from a particular interest in the lesser figures of that whiggism which was dominated by Burke." The scope of the work is indicated by the titles of the four main chapters: "The Whig Tradition," "The Rockingham Whigs," "The Whigs and America," and "The Attack on the Ministry."

The first chapter on the Whig tradition is admirable. Students of seventeenth

and eighteenth century English political parties will find here a succinct and clear account of the fundamental principles of Tories and Whigs and of the adjustment of these principles to the historical events of the century preceding 1760. In the three following chapters the dilemmas which confronted the Rockingham and Chatham Whigs on the American and on other issues and constitutional questions between 1760 and 1783 are presented logically and convincingly, as is the fundamental cleavage between the radical and conservative factions which finally split the followers of Rockingham in 1794.

While the facts in the narrative are beyond question, the conclusions which Professor Guttridge draws will be disputed in some instances mildly and in others violently by historians of other schools. For example, the author holds that Burke dominated Rockingham Whiggism, whereas a good case can be made for the thesis that he was a great intellect and political theorist but was of little influence in party councils and a liability to his party in the house of commons. An equally good case can be made for the thesis that the first years of the reign of George III did not mark a sharp constitutional change from the last years of George II. To the reviewer the least convincing conclusions are those dealing with the constitutional position of Chatham on the American question. Professor Guttridge defends Chatham against the charge of inconsistency and endorses his proposals to acknowledge the limitation of parliament's authority over the colonies, in preference to the positions of George III and the Rockingham Whigs on parliamentary supremacy, on the grounds that no other form of home rule was feasible at the time. Both George III and the Rockingham Whigs held that parliament was supreme: the king believed that force must decide between parliamentary control of the colonies and independence; and the Whigs came to prefer independence to a union of equal states held together by the crown. Chatham believed that there was a fundamental law embodied in the English constitution and expressed by the Magna Carta and the Bill of Rights, and that this law had been violated in the *Middlesex* case, in Mansfield's decision on the law of libel, and in the *Declaratory Act*. The duty of parliament, according to Chatham, was to declare fundamental law. In view of the action of the house of commons in the *Middlesex* case, however, it is difficult to see how parliament could have "declared" fundamental law which would have met with the approval of Chatham and the colonists; and it is even more difficult to visualize what the limitations of parliament's authority over the colonies actually were, unless there was some institution such as the American Supreme Court to decide on specific cases.

Despite the fact that the reviewer cannot accept many of the main conclusions in this essay, he believes that it is a very good piece of work, for it is well organized and well written. Perhaps its strongest feature is the fact that the material is so presented that the reader can enjoy the benefits of the description and analysis which Professor Guttridge offers on each controversial topic and then either accept the conclusions offered or draw his own.

Western Reserve University

DONALD GROVE BARNES

HORATIO GATES: DEFENDER OF AMERICAN LIBERTIES. By *Samuel White Patterson*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1941. Pp. xiv, 466. \$4.25.)

For years the question has been asked: Why have we no adequate life of General Horatio Gates? That the Gates Papers are in the New-York Historical Society, awaiting someone's interest and study, has been well known. Historians and biographers have often approached the general and then veered away. Why? After all, he was an extremely important figure in American history; he was an invaluable organizing adjutant to Washington during the formative days of the Continental Army, and it cannot be denied that Gates was the official victor at Saratoga.

While the *Dictionary of American Biography* was being planned, the present reviewer lunched one day with the late Allen Johnson at the Cosmos Club. He emerged from that luncheon saddled, by the skillful Dr. Johnson, with the responsibility for a number of biographies of unpopular people about whom, apparently, no one else wanted to write. Among these were Benedict Arnold, Charles Lee, Thomas Conway—and Horatio Gates. He soon found that there was a good deal of unexploited, though not undiscovered, material on all these worthies. The Columbia people, like Dixon Fox, knew all about the Gates Papers, but somehow or other they had never been able to get anyone to work on them. So the present reviewer plunged in. His inadequate sketches in the *Dictionary of American Biography* are of the orthodox type—based on what historians are pleased to call “documents.” Most of these are either official letters or personal letters from and to the subjects in question. In the preparation of these biographies, including that of Gates, it was the reviewer's habit to submit them not to a professional historian but to a neighbor who was a professor of neurology. When the biography of Gates was finally laid before this medical man, he exploded: “You historians don't know anything about the people whose biographies you write. You rely on official papers, which are notoriously window-dressing, and upon the man's own letters. How many men ever tell the truth about themselves in their letters? You don't know anything about the things Mrs. Gates said to her husband after the guests went home. Those are the things we really want to know.” Mr. Patterson's biography of Gates is an illustration of the fact that authors fail to search out the type of evidence that some modern critics think we need. If you wish to read a biography which rather carefully, even painstakingly, makes out the best case for Gates which has heretofore been attempted—by all means read this book.

Mr. Patterson's work is based on the most extensive and intensive examination of the Gates manuscripts that has been made to date. But since a man is always the hero of his own letters, and oftentimes of his own correspondents (most of the people to whom we write are still polite to us), it is no wonder that Mr. Patterson emerges with a biography which tends to whitewash Gates, to exonerate him of much of the inherited criticism and blame which for more than a hundred years have attached to that general. Moreover, Professor Patterson has a sense of the

dramatic with which he attempts to liven his somewhat drab subject. This dramatic sense leads him to make the Minute Men "charge" at the British on Lexington Green, when in fact they stood on the defensive and then dispersed. He has General Herkimer killed at Fort Stanwix, when in fact he was killed at Oriskany.

Investigators who feel that Mr. Patterson's favorable interpretations of the Gates career are in need of checking will find themselves baffled by the documentation of the biography. There are in all 709 footnotes. Of these, about one third refer us simply to "Gates Papers (NYHS)"! Running down a particular source on any one of the much controverted points in Gates's life is thus rendered almost impossible. In similar general and cavalier fashion he cites simply the "Colden Papers (NYHS)," "Sullivan Papers (NHHS)," "Wayne Papers (HSP)," "Schuyler Papers (NYPL)," "Duane Papers (NYHS)," etc. Thus more than half the documentation is practically useless. In this connection it may be proper to add that at least half the blame for this unscholarly procedure should be shared by the editors of the Columbia University Press.

Furthermore, there are whole groups of sources which Mr. Patterson ignores, an attitude which might meanly be called a New Yorker's provincialism. It has long been known that the Papers of the British Headquarters in the American Revolution are available in this country, mostly at the University of Michigan. Mr. Patterson acknowledges aid from these papers, but he has never looked into them personally. While it is true that Mr. Patterson corresponded on certain specific points with the late William L. Clements, this was a job not to be done at long distance nor by letter. The masses of the British Headquarters Papers deserved months of study such as Carl Van Doren gave them. Mr. Patterson seems to prefer to cite them in footnotes where he is able to copy from the secondary works of C. H. Van Tyne and Troyer Anderson. Moreover, since Nathanael Greene served in the Continental Army with Gates from 1775 to 1782 and since Greene had to salvage the wreck of Gates's Southern campaign, it might have been well for Mr. Patterson at least to have glanced at the 5,000 Greene Papers which can be found in one American library alone.

On the whole, then, the book is a distinct disappointment to those of us who have long been waiting for a definitive biography of Horatio Gates.

University of Michigan

RANDOLPH G. ADAMS

LAFAYETTE AND THE CLOSE OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

By *Louis Gottschalk*, the University of Chicago. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1942. Pp. xiii, 458. \$4.50.)

LAFAYETTE, next to Washington, has had more biographers than any other hero of the American Revolution. His triumphal tour through the United States in 1824-25 evoked a number of biographies even while he was alive, including General Ducoudray Holstein's interesting but unreliable *Memoirs of Gilbert*

Motier La Fayette, published in New York in 1824. In 1837-38 there appeared in Paris Lafayette's *Mémoires, correspondance et manuscrits du Général La Fayette, publiés par sa famille*, in six volumes, with an English translation of the first three volumes in London and of the first volume alone in New York. These memoirs were the primrose path for a succession of uncritical biographers—Mack (1841), Cutter (1849), Headley (1851), Farmer (1888), and Tuckerman (1889). In 1895 Charlemagne Tower published his well-known but highly unreliable *The Marquis de La Fayette in the American Revolution*. The first critical biography of Lafayette, Charavay's *Le Général La Fayette, 1757-1834*, never translated, was published three years later. The Franco-American entente at the end of the first World War engendered Morgan's *The True La Fayette*, Roberts' *With La Fayette in America*, both superficial, and Brand Whitlock's much touted but worthless *La Fayette*, while the fad of "popular" biographies during the twenties and thirties brought forth lives by Delteil (1928), Sedgwick (1928), Penman (1929), De La Bedoyère (1934), Latzko (1936), and Woodward (1938).

From this welter emerged in 1935 the first volume (184 pages in length) of a fine, scholarly biography, *Lafayette Comes to America*. This opening volume carries the young marquis from his birth to his first landing in America at the mouth of the Great Pedee River in South Carolina in June, 1777. The second, *Lafayette Joins the American Army* (364 pages), covers the eventful year and a half of his first American visit before his return to Brest in February, 1779. The present third and longest volume deals with the rest of his career during the American Revolution. Further volumes will take up the equally eventful, but less successful, later years of his life. The part of the biography now in print is not only the most scholarly and satisfactory treatment of the Revolutionary services of any hero of the American Revolution but is a remarkably informing history of the American Revolution from 1776 to 1783, even though (quite properly) it describes only briefly those events in which Lafayette had no direct participation.

The present volume is important for several reasons. Foremost is its interesting light on the development of Lafayette as a champion of liberty. In the preface to his opening volume Mr. Gottschalk said of Lafayette:

Except for a budding spirit of independence that is to be his saving grace at a crucial moment, you will find him quite ordinary, distinguished from his fellows [in France] only by less social poise and greater wealth. But then there enters into his life a fresh interest. At first this appeals to him only as a means of escape from an existence in which he is beginning to feel frustrated. Yet slowly he develops an enthusiasm for the cause and becomes a crusader for freedom and the rights of man (p. viii).

Lafayette's budding zeal for liberty appears in *Lafayette Joins the American Army*, but it is the present volume which shows us the maturing of the ideals of political liberty which he did so much to establish in the United States and which he carried back with him to France.

Another important feature is the copious evidence of the excellent co-ordination of the American army and the French land and naval forces in the Yorktown campaign, culminating in the capture of Cornwallis' Army. A third is the painstaking description of the seesaw between Lafayette, on the one side, and Arnold, Phillips, and Cornwallis successively, on the other, in eastern Virginia from March to August, 1781. A review written by another biographer of Lafayette speaks of the confusion in this portion of the book resulting from its too great detail. To my mind, the account is singularly clear, and is so mainly because, for the first time, we have the minute details necessary for a full understanding of that confusing sequence of marches and countermarches.

Coming to the debit side of Mr. Gottschalk's work, I have two criticisms. The first is a matter of mechanics. The book is amply documented, and the reader can, by due diligence, construct a list of the sources from which the author has drawn. The manuscript sources are indicated by the acknowledgments in the preface; the printed sources can be identified by selecting the italicized names in the index and turning back to the first page cited after each of these names. But why make each interested reader do this work when the inclusion of a list of sources would have saved this multiplication of labor?

The second is more serious. In his preface to the first volume Mr. Gottschalk said, "Where no more reliable evidence was available the author has accepted at its face value the testimony of Lafayette"—which "testimony" includes his *Mémoires*, his brief *Autobiographie*, published in Charavay's *La Général La Fayette*, and his reminiscences to Jared Sparks in the Sparks Manuscripts at Harvard. Since, as Mr. Gottschalk's own studies prove, Lafayette's memory was at least as fallible as most men's, the present volume, and the earlier ones too, would have been more trustworthy if the author had confined his statements of fact to facts of which there is contemporaneous evidence. In most cases Mr. Gottschalk's statements, based on Lafayette's uncorroborated assertions, merely leave the reader with the uncomfortable suspicion that the statements are open to doubt. But occasionally these doubts are confirmed, as will be seen by comparing Van Doren's convincing account of Lafayette's meeting with Arnold just before the discovery of his treason (chapter xiv of *The Secret History of the American Revolution*), based on the contemporary testimony of Franks and Varrick, with Gottschalk's account in chapter vi of the present volume, based on Lafayette's reminiscences to Sparks in 1828.

Yale University

BERNHARD KNOLLENBERG

JEFFERSON. By Saul K. Padover. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1942. Pp. 459. \$4.00.)

A new biography of Thomas Jefferson today indicates possession by the author of considerable courage. The story of Jefferson's career, of his political doctrines,

and of his influence in American history has been told so often and in such detail that it has become a difficult task to add anything to knowledge of the man, or to give any fresh interpretation of his work. Unless the author is prepared to devote years of labor, with every source exhausted, to the production of a study of Jefferson on the scale, say, of Beveridge's *Marshall*, he can scarcely expect to make any historical contribution. The best he can hope for is to present a highly readable, sound and accurate, story. And to accomplish that is no unworthy achievement.

Mr. Padover has done this. His volume, containing little, if anything, new to the student of Jefferson, is one of the most attractive and readable studies in compact form of its highly versatile and interesting subject. In content the work is equally to be praised. Mr. Padover is clearly an ardent admirer of Jefferson, but he does not gush about him. He maintains admirable balance not only of Jefferson but also of Jefferson's opponents, which is, of itself, fairly unusual. Most of those who have written admiringly of Jefferson have found it difficult to keep their hands off of Hamilton and Marshall. Another admirable feature of the work is the fact that except by implication there is strikingly little interpretation other than what appears in the straightforward narrative and the quotations from Jefferson himself.

There are a number of errors that should have been avoided. A few are here noted. North Carolina did not declare independence in March, 1776, or at any other time (p. 50). The statement (p. 80, note) that in 1780 the combined white population of Georgia, South Carolina, and North Carolina did not equal that of Massachusetts is absurd. There are no reliable population figures for 1780, but in 1790 the white population of these three states exceeded that of Massachusetts by more than one hundred thousand, and the proportion in 1780 was not greatly different. Monticello does not "command a view of about a dozen counties" (p. 96) and of course did not in 1781. John Taylor resided in Caroline County, Virginia, and not in North Carolina (p. 266). Samuel Chase was impeached by a vote of seventy-three to thirty-three, we are told (p. 327), but on the following page appears the statement, "The failure to impeach Chase was a defeat for Jefferson." "If Jefferson had wanted to declare war. . . . But the President kept his head" (p. 349). It ought not be necessary, with respect to so excellent a book, to suggest that the power of declaring war lies elsewhere than with the President. That "the small United States navy trounced the veteran British fleet" (p. 374) is unknown to naval history, but it smacks strongly of a type of school and popular history that many of us of an older generation were familiar with in our childhood. Hawkins of Pennsylvania, not Jefferson, invented the polygraph which the latter used with so much comfort (p. 380).

But these things, after all, are but minor flaws in an attractive and sound popular biography.

University of North Carolina

J. G. DE ROULHAC HAMILTON

THE AMERICAN MARITIME INDUSTRIES AND PUBLIC POLICY, 1789-1914: AN ECONOMIC HISTORY. By *John G. B. Hutchins*, Instructor in Economics in Cornell University. [Harvard Economic Studies.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1941. Pp. xxi, 627. \$5.00.)

THIS study won the David A. Wells Prize at Harvard in 1940, in a "competition open to seniors . . . and graduates . . . of not more than three years standing." Its author must, therefore, have been comparatively young when he wrote it, a fact which may explain his hardihood in tackling such a vast subject and which also provokes admiration of his industry, skill, and high degree of accomplishment. To survey American shipbuilding, ship operation, and public policy from the Revolution to the first World War is a job large enough to satisfy any writer or reader; but to throw in an almost equally detailed study of the British story, to acquire a working knowledge of German and French developments, to get a good running start by taking the tale back to the sixteenth century, and then to work on this mountain of material with the tools and tests of an economic theorist, that really is full measure, pressed down and running over.

Perhaps some of the overflow was unnecessary. The purpose of the book is "to trace in considerable detail the kaleidoscopic changes which occurred in the organization and economic position of the American shipping and shipbuilding industries between 1789 and 1914, and to discuss the effects and implications of American navigation policies." To achieve this purpose, it was not essential to begin with a general, highly analytical, ponderous, and labored essay of sixty-five pages on "The Maritime Industries and Public Regulation" in all countries and ages. Many of the points made are pointless, and the judgments have little justice until one has read the rest of the book; and most of the analyses that are relevant to the story are repeated at least once later on.

The story proper is told in two parts, with 1862 as the dividing date. Until then shipbuilders and operators worked in the "free competitive maritime economy associated with the wooden sailing ship." The central fact of that economy was the widespread abundance of cheap ship timber in the United States, in contrast with the great scarcity and high price of western European supplies. American ships, built in small yards and operated by relatively small seafaring or mercantile owners, could be built, sold, and run much more cheaply than those of England, France, or Holland. European policies prevented this economic advantage from being fully exploited, by keeping American vessels off some routes, by levying discriminating charges against them or their cargoes, and by forbidding Europeans to buy them. American policy, failing to get reciprocal free navigation and sale, resorted to reciprocal retaliation; foreign-built ships could not be admitted to American registry, the coastal trade was closed to them, and in other ways the rule was "Do unto others as they have done unto you."

Yet these obstacles could not prevent a great expansion of American shipping activity, both during the "uneasy prosperity" of the Napoleonic Wars and the

vast expansion of production and trade which followed. Gradually the European restraints were removed, and the United States was able to make the most of its differential in cost, better design, greater size, seaworthiness, and speed on nearly every ocean, while keeping its own register and coastal traffic closed to foreign ships.

This "Golden Age of the American Wooden Sailing Ship" ended when the margin of comparative advantage vanished. By 1830 good timber was becoming scarce near the coast, and by 1860 it had become quite costly. Wages were rising, and hence both building and operating costs approached or exceeded those of European or Canadian vessels. Meanwhile the British not merely bought cheap American or improved Canadian ships but took the lead in design or construction with their sailing ships of wood and iron or of iron, and their steamships. Canadians cut Americans out of the West Indies fish trade, British clippers pushed them out of the tea trade, while Cunard and Inman filched the North Atlantic traffic from the packet ships. The collapse of the California boom in 1857 and the outbreak of the Civil War broke a back that was already sagging seriously and turned the last flare of "unparalleled prosperity" into "sudden disaster." But they only hastened the inevitable. The day when prosperity could rest on the exploitation of rich cheap timber resources by small-scale simple forms of organization had ended.

There were no more cheap American ships until the government sold its war fleet after 1918. Pending that illusory windfall, builders and operators had to adjust themselves to a situation in which they were at a great economic disadvantage, and their rulers had to decide whether they should protect the high-cost shipbuilder, let the operator obtain cheap vessels abroad, or try to help them both. They protected the builder, guarded the coastwise monopoly, but did nothing for the world-wide operator beyond granting a few subsidies or contract payments. Mr. Hutchins regards this policy as unrealistic, antiquated, vacillating, and short-sighted. He is convinced it would have been wiser to allow the free purchase of foreign vessels, to subsidize domestic building for specific chosen purposes, to work out careful plans for contracts and subsidies to ships on selected routes, and to exercise control over the schedules, expenditures, and accounts of such protégés. The mistakes made in granting aid in the fifties and the successful experience of other countries could have pointed the way to effective assistance.

One hopes that Mr. Hutchins, having made this preliminary survey of a large subject, will go on to work some parts of it more intensively and perhaps bring the story up to our own decade. He has not tapped more than a particle of the information to be gleaned from newspapers, business records, Admiralty cases, and registry documents. In presenting the results of that further research, he can lighten his task if he avoids the repetition of facts, quotations, and words—especially "primary"—which mars and lengthens his first book. He must be more careful of his time sense; "eighteenth century" (p. 146) surely should be "seventeenth

century," and "several decades" (p. 404) should be "several years." He should eschew constructions which provoke such results as "data is" (p. 111), "tons was" (p. 189), or "as good or better than" (p. 303). Finally, like all of us, he should insist on the right to censor his "Publisher's Note." It is for the reader, not the press, to decide whether "This book does for the merchant marine what Admiral Mahan did for the navy."

University of Minnesota

HERBERT HEATON

BOSTON'S IMMIGRANTS, 1790-1865: A STUDY IN ACCULTURATION.

By *Oscar Handlin*, Instructor in History, Harvard University. [Harvard Historical Studies.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1941. Pp. xviii, 287. \$3.25.)

WHEN we think of Boston in relation to immigration, we immediately think of the Irish; and Dr. Handlin's study is primarily concerned with them: how they happened to arrive in Boston, why they stayed, the suffering they endured, the problems they caused, and the secure but separate place they eventually acquired in the community.

In the period covered, which carries the story through the Civil War, the Irish were not only the most numerous of Boston's immigrants but the most divergent from the Boston norm in respect to heritage, socio-economic situation, and outlook on life. They did not fit into the occupational pattern, but concentrated in casual, unskilled, and domestic service jobs, when indeed they found any employment at all. "Even the Negroes, who stood closest to the Irish in occupational experience, fared better than they." Later, with the development of industry, which this large cheap labor supply furthered, the lot of the Irish improved, though they still were victims of prejudice and exploitation, of low wages, unsatisfactory working conditions, and unemployment. Their economic maladjustment intensified other problems: disease, crime, vice, and housing conditions. This was part of the price that Boston paid for cheap immigrant labor. In the realm of ideas they introduced a conflicting note, since they were Catholics, fought social reform, opposed Lincoln, favored slavery, and upheld the Democratic party and the South.

One of the most significant results of Irish immigration was its effect on the class structure.

Depressed to the status of helpless proletarians by the conditions of their flight from Ireland and by the city's constricted economic structure, driven into debilitating slums by their position as unskilled laborers, and isolated intellectually by their cultural background and physical seclusion, the Irish felt an insuperable barrier between themselves and their neighbors. As social circumstances dictated, these differences lent themselves to either co-operation or conflict; but so long as they persisted, they stimulated and perpetuated group consciousness in both immigrants and natives and left the community divided within itself.

With modifications arising from improved economic status, increased political

influence, greater education and assimilation, the last statement probably holds true today, in Boston as elsewhere. The Irish have not lost their identity, and while they now hold a position of prestige with respect to other immigrant stocks, they have not been fully merged in "native American" or Yankee society.

In this competent treatise the author has effectively utilized the immigrant press as one of his most important sources. In addition to an extensive coverage of public, especially state, documents and other contemporary and historical material, he has drawn more from sociological sources than is customary among historians. This has contributed to the value of his book, which should interest social scientists as well as his own professional group. From this standpoint also it is "a study in acculturation."

Yale University

MAURICE R. DAVIE

THE SECOND GREAT AWAKENING IN CONNECTICUT. By *Charles Roy Keller*, Associate Professor of History, Williams College. [Yale Historical Publications, Leonard Woods Labaree, Editor, Miscellany, XL.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1942. Pp. ix, 275. \$3.00.)

IN the last decade of the eighteenth century the spread of deism and rationalism and the excesses of the French Revolution stimulated a religious revival in Connecticut, which Mr. Keller terms the Second Great Awakening. The advent of Jeffersonian democracy was probably an additional impetus, for the Connecticut Congregationalist greeted the rise to power of Thomas Jefferson with the same moans with which his forebears had greeted the restoration of Charles II to the throne of England, and sought to check the spread of infidelity. The Second Great Awakening was a quieter movement than the first and found expression in missionary activities at home and abroad, in Bible and tract societies, in education societies designed to perpetuate a learned ministry, in Sunday schools, in moral reform, and in humanitarian activities. The Missionary Society of Connecticut sent home missionaries to a frontier which moved from western New Hampshire, Vermont, and eastern New York in 1798 to Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Tennessee, and the Missouri Territory in 1815. As part of the humanitarian movement, Leonard Bacon, pastor of the First Church of New Haven, was one of the organizers of an Antislavery Association and an African Improvement Society in 1826, and the Connecticut State Prison was moved from an abandoned copper mine at East Granby to Wethersfield in 1828 and run at a profit to the state. Although in a work dealing with Connecticut emphasis is necessarily placed upon Congregationalism, Mr. Keller has devoted a chapter to the Protestant minorities in Connecticut, who in the Second Great Awakening followed after the Congregationalists. As part of the movement the Episcopalians established Washington, later Trinity, College at Hartford in 1824, and the Methodists, Wesleyan University at Middletown in 1831. As a result of the Second Great Awakening, Congregationalism itself underwent a change. The doctrine of election became less impor-

tant and more emphasis was placed upon works. The Half-Way Covenant was eliminated and conversion became the sole test for church membership. Baptism was restricted to the children of full members and to those who made confessions of faith.

The Second Great Awakening was not peculiar to Connecticut. The religious revival in that state between 1797 and 1826 was but part of the evangelical movement which swept the Protestant world in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Many of the manifestations of the awakening were national and international in scope. A study of the movement cannot readily be confined to a single state. The author's conclusions that the Second Great Awakening was in part responsible for the failure of Unitarianism in Connecticut (p. 235) and that this rebirth of interest in religion promoted a spirit of nationalism in the United States (p. 238) might be questioned. Nevertheless, Mr. Keller has directed attention to a little-heeded aspect of Connecticut's history.

Wells College

ISABEL M. CALDER

THE CALIFORNIA SEA OTTER TRADE, 1784-1848. By *Adele Ogden*. [University of California Publications in History, Volume 26.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1941. Pp. xi, 251. Cloth \$2.50, paper \$2.00.)

THIS slender volume is apparently the definitive account of an obscure branch of commerce which played a leading role in the establishment of the earliest interests of the United States in California. The otter trade not only attracted a few Americans to California, but for approximately forty years, from 1805 to 1845, the fluctuating fortunes of the otter hunters were one aspect of the development and modification of American commerce in the North Pacific. The subject of this volume, therefore, is one of very real concern to the historian of California and to all who wish to understand the political and commercial expansion of the United States during the first half of the nineteenth century.

The title of the book is a safe guide to the contents. The most persistent and successful participants in the otter trade were Americans. Some came directly from the United States; others were residents of California and nominal citizens of Mexico; while a third group was composed of American merchants resident in Honolulu and engaged in trade throughout the northeastern Pacific. Nearly one half of the book deals with the activities of these American traders. There are also chapters devoted to Spanish and Russian efforts to exploit the otter trade, and one chapter is concerned with the evolution and application of Mexican commercial policy in California. The volume closes with a brief summary of the significance of "the sea route in national expansion." Not the least of the contributions of this work is an appendix in which the author gives the itineraries of all vessels known to have taken part in the otter trade.

This volume bears on every page the mark of scholarship. It is based upon

extensive and thorough research, and the evidence is drawn almost exclusively from manuscript sources. The topic is one which would lend itself readily to romance, but the author has chosen to present a simple unadorned narrative which will gain from the confidence which it inspires whatever it may lose in reader appeal. The judgments of the author are, in general, reasonable and convincing. Some may believe that she has attached undue importance to the otter trade, particularly with respect to interests of the Russian American Company in California. Her views, however, will command respect, if not always assent, because of the obvious care and discrimination with which she has done her work.

Stanford University

HAROLD WHITMAN BRADLEY

JOHANN CONRAD BEISSEL, MYSTIC AND MARTINET, 1690-1768. By *Walter C. Klein*. [Pennsylvania Lives.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1942. Pp. ix, 218. \$2.25.)

THE LIFE OF ANDREW HAMILTON, 1676-1741, "THE DAY-STAR OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION." By *Burton Alva Konkle*. (Philadelphia: National Publishing Company. 1941. Pp. 168. \$3.00.)

NOTABLE WOMEN OF PENNSYLVANIA. Edited by *Gertrude Bosler Biddle* and *Sarah Dickinson Lowrie*. [Committee of 1926, Philadelphia Sesquicentennial Celebration.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1942. Pp. xviii, 307. \$3.00.)

Books, like so many things of life, appear to fall naturally into the three familiar classes of the good, the bad, and the indifferent. Certainly this is true of the three volumes here considered in review.

Johann Conrad Beissel, Mystic and Martinet, 1690-1768, by Walter C. Klein, is definitely that precious thing, a good book. Its merits and place could not be better stated than they have been in the excellent foreword by Dr. Richard H. Shryock of the University of Pennsylvania. As he points out, Conrad Beissel, though in many ways an "insignificant figure," has a significance in the history of his era. Pietism in Europe, sectarianism in Pennsylvania, and the Ephrata experiment are all here skillfully analyzed and depicted. The organization of the contents and the literary style of the book are truly admirable. Dr. Klein has made a real contribution to the history of Pennsylvania. His treatment of the Eckerle family (pp. 151-64) is particularly important in frontier history. Readers of many types will welcome this fifth volume of its series.

The Life of Andrew Hamilton, 1676-1741, "the Day-Star of the American Revolution," by Burton Alva Konkle, cannot, unfortunately, be classified otherwise than as bad, that is, a poor piece of work in many respects. It deals, it is true, with a most significant figure in American history and is based on considerable research, but it is badly written. Its literary construction could hardly be worse. Seemingly the manuscript had no editorial work upon it either by friends of the

author or by agents of the publishers. It is very unpleasant to emphasize the shortcomings of the "twenty-first" volume of an author who has been engaged in research and writing for "half a century." But in addition to poor literary form, this volume is featured by much irrelevancy, unusual repetition, chapters composed wholly of quotations, and sundry egregious errors, as for instance: "William III was grandson of the Norman 'Conqueror'" (p. 8) and "It should be recalled that James I was executed" (p. 6, note). Andrew Hamilton deserves a better treatment.

Notable Women of Pennsylvania may, from the point of view of the historian, be put in the class of indifferent works. In about three hundred pages of text are included short biographies of two hundred women. Such treatment inevitably puts the book in the class of an inferior dictionary of biography. Various are the reasons for the inclusion of names in the volume. Sometimes those included represent literature, art, science, education, or philanthropy. Often the inclusion is largely a family matter, such as that of mother or wife or daughter of a distinguished man. Sometimes the "notable" woman owes her inclusion solely to dramatic incident, mainly one connected with warfare. It is possible that the average American historian has never before heard of more than 15 or 20 per cent of the two hundred personalities included. The individual biographical sketches are of little if any historical value. The main value is that of a convenient collection of two hundred names of prominent women in Pennsylvania local history.

University of Pittsburgh

ALFRED P. JAMES

THE PENNSYLVANIA GERMANS. By *Arthur D. Graeff, Walter M. Kollmorgen, Clyde S. Stine, Ralph Wood, Richard H. Shryock, Albert Franklin Buffington, G. Paul Musselman, Harry Hess Reichard*. Edited by *Ralph Wood*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1942. Pp. viii, 299. \$3.00.)

"MANY Pennsylvanians cherish today an old American culture set against a German background, just as rural New Englanders take pride in an old American culture set against an English background." This sentence, occurring in the essay by Professor Shryock of the University of Pennsylvania's history department, gives the keynote of this agreeably written book. Many of the earlier writers on the history of the Germans in this country wrote with a certain resentment at the failure of American historians "to give the Germans their due." The present group of authors sees the German settlers in perspective along with the rest of our population as "immigrants all." Mr. Shryock, moreover, gives very understandable reasons for the neglect of the story of German settlers—which he shows, incidentally, not to have been universal by any means.

These reasons arose largely out of the fashions in history writing. Early national historians were New Englanders and emphasized "Plymouth Rock and all that." The Pennsylvania Germans were a local group, and general historians aspired to national rather than local themes. Until recent decades most historians stressed

political achievements, a field in which this group was fairly inactive; their strength lay in farming, the sciences, and the arts, among them especially music. Their record was written in German, and consequently rarely read. They were in Pennsylvania, and the Middle States did not happen to be treated as fully as New England or the South. Finally, professional historians for long were under the spell of the frontier hypothesis, which emphasized environmental factors to the neglect of cultural influences.

The cultural influence of the Pennsylvania Germans rather than a historical account forms the subject matter of this book. Mr. Graeff in two spirited essays, "Pennsylvania, the Colonial Melting Pot" and "Pennsylvania Germans as Soldiers," gives us very interesting glimpses of their activities as settlers and fighters; for example, three items so characteristic of our frontier life were developed by Pennsylvania Germans: the log cabin, the Kentucky rifle, manufactured chiefly in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and the Conestoga wagon with its boat-shaped body, later named "the prairie schooner." Mr. Kollmorgen shows how a Palatinate farming tradition combined with a quietistic religion caused the Mennonites and other sects to make eastern Pennsylvania not a dust bowl but "the garden-spot of America." Mr. Musselman, writing on "The Sects, Apostles of Peace," presents the background of European tyranny that brought the Mennonites here and shows that their opposition to New Deal supervision is not due to stupidity but to suspicion lest they again lose their precious freedom. Mr. Wood writes with shrewd insight and humor on the Lutherans and Reformed churches and also on journalism among the Pennsylvania Germans. Mr. Stine discusses education, involving "a struggle between the state and the Pennsylvania German agrarian spirit, each trying to further its own philosophy of life and education"; recently, he reports, the authorities have begun to adapt the schools to the needs of the rural population. A reading of Mr. Reichard's scholarly essay on Pennsylvania German literature reveals the love of the old farm and its activities as a main theme of the lyrics. There are an appendix on the Pennsylvania German dialect, a bibliographical guide, and an index.

University of Maryland

A. E. ZUCKER

REVEILLE IN WASHINGTON, 1860-1865. By *Margaret Leech*. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1941. Pp. ix, 483. \$3.50.)

Miss Leech's book is done in technicolor. Where more ponderous authors dwell on movements and problems, the author of *Reveille* is concerned with Scott's "tarrapin" and canvasback duck, Buchanan's wry neck, Seward's cigar, and dark-skinned maids packing their mistresses' dresses for the Southern exodus from the capital. Where others present issues and controversies she gives us Stanton's "profuse . . . whiskers . . . like a false beard," Ellsworth's Fire Zouaves boasting that they "would have gone through Baltimore like a dose of salts," Hooker's florid face, or Phil Kearny's *képi* slanted in the French manner. The book's im-

pact is upon the senses; its impressions consist of noise and clatter, panoramas, alarms, panics, excitements—in short, the feelings, rumors, sensations, intrigues, and odors of Washington in Lincoln's day. No other capital was like it, and Miss Leech does full justice to its unmilitary improvisations, disloyal cliques, marshes, diseases, mud, barracks, hospitals, riffraff, contrabands, pickaninnies, counts and barons, office seekers, doddering generals, fetes, parades, waltzes and polkas, saloons, brothels, swashbucklers, clashes of police with soldiers, and, by contrast, its spots of social brilliance, these last being chiefly Southern and fleeting. Seldom does one find complicated military episodes so well marshaled, nor often such a telling flow of sentences as that which precedes the clinching statement: "A regime had ended in Washington" (p. 31). In the popular literature concerning the Civil War the book deserves its high place.

That there should be omissions and minor defects in so vast a canvas is neither surprising nor particularly damaging. The women of Washington are skillfully presented ("ladies in durance," "Madam President," Louisa M. Alcott, Rose Greenhow, Mrs. Stanton, Kate Chase, Dorothea Dix, etcetera), yet the index makes no mention of Anna Ella Carroll, whom Marjorie Barstow Greenbie called the "great, unrecognized member of Lincoln's cabinet," nor of Anna E. Dickinson, that extraordinary girl orator who electrified the country with radical tirades and once spoke to both houses of Congress with Lincoln in attendance. Impression and description being the purpose, the processes of the plodding historian are avoided; elaborate details are piled up without documentation. Sources have indeed been well used; nevertheless, as to provenance the incidents hang in mid-air and those who like their history pinned down will be disappointed. To illustrate, Miss Leech mentions, as everyone does, Douglas' fine gesture in holding Lincoln's hat at the first inaugural (p. 44). The reviewer's guess is that this is derived either from some secondary account or from that doubtful "source," the "Diary of a Public Man." Watterson gave it as the reminiscence of a witness in *Marse Henry* (I, 78); J. G. Holland mentioned it in a book published in 1866 (*Life of Abraham Lincoln*, p. 278); Nicolay and Hay (III, 326 n.) gave it no treatment in their own right, relegating it to a footnote quotation of Holland. Anyone who can trace this famous incident to a strictly primary source (*i.e.*, to a direct statement in March of 1861 by an eyewitness) will thereby make a historical contribution, though the writer who uses it eloquently without such tracing may make a literary contribution. It is, of course, for those who value the historical contribution that documentation is needed. It is fair to assume that Miss Leech's purpose throughout is literary, and in this sense she has made a distinguished success. The book is embellished with pictures (taken mostly from illustrated magazines) and is equipped with excellent thumbnail biographies and an eight-page bibliography which, though a mere list, is reasonably complete.

University of Illinois

J. G. RANDALL

THE ATTITUDE OF THE NORTHERN CLERGY TOWARD THE SOUTH, 1860-1865. By *Chester Forrester Dunham*. [The University of Chicago.] (Toledo: Gray Company. 1942. Pp. xi, 258. \$3.50.)

THOSE who have made a study of American social and cultural history will agree with Dr. Dunham in feeling that the clergy of the mid-nineteenth century were leaders "in a realm of public opinion and of human emotion." Whether they, or any other leaders, were creators of public opinion and directors of events or were mere "reflectors of national projects" is always a matter of conjecture.

The importance of the clergy, however, might have been even more apparent and, perhaps, easier to estimate if the author had begun his introductory chapter on the influence of the clergy earlier than the Compromise Year, 1850. With the "Great Revival" of the 1820's the humanitarian reforms, long a matter of concern to a few, became popular movements, swept forward in an almost revolutionary wave by the enthusiasm of thousands to whom religion was a vital experience. Charles Grandison Finney, most eminent of the revivalists, wound up each series of meetings with an exhortation that his converts express their joy in their own salvation in good works. Finney converts studying for the ministry at Lane Seminary under Lyman Beecher were so ardent in their efforts to aid the free Negroes of Cincinnati that they came into conflict with the trustees of the seminary and left Lane in a body to start a theological department at Oberlin, where coeducation, manual labor, and abolition were all evidence of the new radical spirit. It seems a little strange that in a book devoted to the attitudes and position of the Northern clergy, there should be no mention of Lane or of Theodore Dwight Weld, a Lane Rebel who was a force in the antislavery movement of even greater significance than William Lloyd Garrison.

The antislavery crusade was but one of the reform movements to which the young men trained in Northern colleges between 1815 and 1850 devoted themselves. Revivals were yearly occurrences during their college years, and, inspired by the perfectionism of their faith, they went out into the world determined to perfect human institutions. The important officers of the peace societies, prison reform societies, temperance societies, and the antislavery groups were almost always men who had been trained for the ministry and whose interest in their fellow men had led them into social welfare work. Revivalism, perfectionism, democracy, and humanitarianism were intertwined, and the clergy felt the impact of all these forces and led their people into an emotional reaction against slavery as a denial of their faith.

Dr. Dunham's analysis of the attitude of the Northern churches at the outbreak of the Civil War is extremely valuable. One of the most interesting sections of the book is that dealing with the clergy's share in the formulation of war aims and in the making of postwar programs for the aid of the freedmen. The acceptance of the idea that the South was now a field for Northern missionary enterprise was of much significance in the Reconstruction period.

The extensive use of quotations and the wide sampling of clerical writings which they represent make Dr. Dunham's book of considerable value to the social historian. The footnotes and bibliography are evidence of careful examination of contemporary tracts, sermons, and religious periodicals. The list of secondary works used is much briefer and has some striking omissions. Neither in the text nor in the bibliography, for instance, is there reference to Gilbert Barnes's *The Antislavery Impulse*, whose thesis is the religious motif in the abolition movement. Dr. Dunham does not appear to have used U. B. Phillips' *Course of the South to Secession*, nor, despite his emphasis upon the work of Theodore Parker, does he refer to Henry Steele Commager's interesting and vivid life of Parker.

The author might, perhaps, have made clearer the connection between the anti-slavery crusade and the maintenance of civil liberties and of the part taken by the clergy in the war effort, but it is indeed a provocative and a useful book that raises queries as to why some topics are left untouched and others do not receive the attention that one might reasonably expect.

University of Minnesota

ALICE FELT TYLER

LOUISIANA IN THE CONFEDERACY. By *Jefferson Davis Bragg*, Associate Professor of History, Baylor University. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1941. Pp. ix, 341. \$3.00.)

LOUISIANA REDEEMED: THE OVERTHROW OF CARPET-BAG RULE, 1876-1880. By *Garnie W. McGinty*, Professor and Head of the Department of Social Science, Louisiana Polytechnic Institute. (New Orleans: Pelican Publishing Company. 1941. Pp. 264. \$2.75.)

THESE two books are in no sense companion volumes. The first traces the history of Louisiana during the period of the troubled existence of the Confederacy; the second follows the story of the overthrow of the carpetbag and Negro regime through the restoration of control by the native white element.

Mr. Bragg finds justification apparently for covering ground which has already been cultivated in part by John Ficklen and W. M. Caskey by making the motif of his study Louisiana's career as a part of the Confederacy. The author is correct in stating that the writings on the history of the Confederacy have centered around the military campaigns to the neglect of the history of the component states as a part of a confederated whole. He lives up to his promise in the preface to make his study more than the record of New Orleans. Too often the superficial reader is prone to feel that with the capture of the Crescent City by the Union forces Louisiana could no longer be counted in the Confederacy, despite the large portion of the state still nominally under Confederate jurisdiction. This study definitely tips the scales toward a better balance by showing the military activity which went on through the rest of the war and by discussing the social and economic problems. Despite the fact that those campaigns have all been recorded in military histories

and the social-economic problems discussed, as evidenced by constant citation of other works, the writer synthesizes the whole into a vivid picture of Louisiana through the four war years.

The author has used a great deal of manuscript material not available earlier, part now preserved at Louisiana State University in the department of archives, part still in private possession, which has definitely added to the treatment of this subject.

On the whole, the book is well organized and written in a readable style. In the judgment of the reviewer the book would have gained by putting certain points in the author's own words rather than in dull direct quotation (for example, description of the Louisiana flag, p. 41). It is a pity that careless typesetting mars the second page by misplaced lines and that the map takes the form of end-leaves, awkward to use and omitting needed detail.

In the second volume Mr. McGinty seeks unity presumably by tracing the story of the entire transition period, marked by the overthrow of alien rule and establishment of home rule by native Louisianians. The center of gravity is thus shifted, as compared with earlier studies, from the period 1862 to 1877, which is usually regarded as the Reconstruction period in Louisiana, to the period of actual redemption, 1876 to 1880. This results in the repetition in detail of the story of the election of 1876, the period of dual government in Louisiana, and the recognition of conservative government by the Washington government. All this claims fully half of the volume instead of an introductory chapter or two, which plan seems unjustified without the presentation of new material beyond that of accounts already published or without fresh interpretation. Governor Nicholls' share in the recovery of home rule receives full recognition, though it may be added that if redemption had not been achieved by Nicholls, it would in all likelihood have been won by Wiltz or any other leader who might have been selected as governor, for the country was weary of the turmoil in Louisiana. The sympathetic presentation of Nicholls' carefully laid plans is, however, worth while and a gain to our knowledge of the period.

The other half of the volume is concerned with the growing opposition to Nicholls, the constitutional convention of 1879, and the lottery contest, to which a chapter is properly allotted, all of which constitutes only about a fourth of the book, followed by three chapters devoted to "Commerce and Transportation," "Agriculture and Negroes," and "Education and Health." It would seem at least questionable whether the organization which thus segregates these social and economic subjects from their natural and inevitable interaction with the political story is an altogether happy arrangement. A generous use of newspapers, of the provincial cities as well as of New Orleans, is to be noted, though a tendency appears to cite authorities second-hand even where the primary source is available (Nordhoff, p. 32; *Opelousas Courier*, p. 116; and most of the papers cited on page 224). A temptation to pile up quotations on the same point might have been

resisted with possible gain to the flow of the story. On the whole it is a workman-like study, in which conclusions are justly drawn.

Goucher College

ELLA LONN

DU PONT: ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY YEARS. By *William S. Dutton*.
(New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1942. Pp. x, 396. \$3.00.)

HERE is a book that may prove useful as a document to some future historian of business who wants to show to what lengths a company can go in self-praise. The work is a company-inspired apotheization of the company. The author confesses that "More than fifty executives of the company, including members of the Du Pont family, have contributed in the form of suggestions." This, in itself, should be reason enough to explain why the company is so thoroughly beatified. But there is a further reason given: "The result is the Du Pont Company as seen by Du Pont men. It is an 'inside' view." This may be accepted as an honest confession. But the next sentence comes rather as a *non sequitur*: "If that view happens to be good it is only because for 140 years Du Pont men—and women—have striven earnestly to make it so, each generation according to the concept of its time" (p. vii).

It would be difficult to paint a brighter view. The author has surely exceeded his own expectations. The company was founded by saints, nurtured by seraphim, and perpetuated by cherubim, none of whom ever had an evil thought. The family was persecuted by the bloody revolutionists of France and was sometimes misunderstood by the ugly rabble of America. But did the company ever stoop even to do so naughty a thing as to cheapen nylon, so that stockings would not wear too long? Perish the thought! No saint of the Du Pont lineage could ever do aught but shudder at the notion of such human perfidy. As a record of the material achievements of the company, the book seems to be fairly dependable. But the reader will be disappointed if he seeks for any credible explanation of how virtual monopoly was achieved, the *sub rosa* features of business practices, or the deeper meaning of international cartels. Short chapters on "Plastics," "Synthetic Rubber," and "Nylon" are of timely interest for their technical details.

The book is written in impeccable style, though it sometimes inspires incredulity. The account even of the earliest years of an impoverished Burgundian family is embellished with long conversations (in quotation marks) and with stories that tell of each nod of the head or other gesture of the participants. How can the writer be so sure of all this? He has no footnotes, backnotes, nor end-of-chapter notes, no bibliography, no indication of sources except vague references to some memoirs. And just how reliable are these reminiscences of old men? The inference is that they are the sort of documents historians have always vainly sought—infallible in their accuracy.

Such a book will undoubtedly have a wide and favorable publicity and an extensive sale.

University of Illinois

FRED A. SHANNON

THE CIVIL WAR VETERAN IN MINNESOTA LIFE AND POLITICS. By *Frank H. Heck*. [Annals of America, Volume III.] (Oxford: Mississippi Valley Press. 1941. Pp. 295. \$3.50.)

THIS interesting volume, which has all the earmarks of a creditable Ph. D. thesis, amounts to a case study in the history of an almost forgotten, but once very significant, national organization. What happened in Minnesota, the author gives us leave to assume, was paralleled closely in other Northern states. His study should, therefore, shed light upon the whole history of the G.A.R., as indeed it does.

While to the careful student of the postwar period it is hardly news that the Grand Army was not an immediate success, Mr. Heck is well justified in calling attention to this fact. In Minnesota, for example, "seventeen lean years" followed the initial meeting of August 1, 1866. Not until the 1880's did the organization really come alive. It is customary to conclude that its growth is intimately bound up with the drive for more and larger pensions with which so many of its members were concerned, but Mr. Heck believes that this is by no means the whole truth. He concedes that the Arrears of Pensions Act of 1879 probably put many veterans into a financial position to bear the cost of membership, but he holds that many intangibles, such as nostalgia for the intimate comradeship of army life and the desire for relief from tedious everyday routine, had perhaps as strong an appeal as pensions. It is well to remember that the United States of this period was "a nation of joiners," and that easier means of communication was a great encouragement to all national organizations.

Mr. Heck's study does due deference to the current, or recently current, vogue for social history. One chapter describes intimately the good fellowship that the comrades so much enjoyed, and another the various internal activities necessary to keep the order functioning. But the essentially political nature of the Grand Army is betrayed by such headings as "Party Irregularity," "The Machinery of Democracy," "Intra-Party Factions," "The Veteran as a Party Worker," "The Veteran as an Office Seeker," and "The Politician Seeks the Soldier Vote." In the course of these chapters the author presents not only a history of the G.A.R. but also a political history of the state of Minnesota during the period in which the Grand Army was active. It was a cardinal principle of G.A.R. policy that the order should not, as such, engage in politics, but the evidence seems to indicate that most of its membership was politically minded, and that the comrades on political matters were prone to think alike. At least, the Grand Army was practically never charged with working for the success of the Democratic ticket, either state or national, while one of the authors whom Mr. Heck cites in his bibliography speaks of "The Grand Army of the Republican Party."

The book is supplied with an extensive and meticulously organized bibliography and is heavily documented throughout. Mr. Heck has made commendable use of manuscript material and has searched the newspapers diligently. The format of

the book is creditable and shows definite progress in the art of book designing by the Mississippi Valley Press.

University of California

JOHN D. HICKS

AMERICAN REGULATION OF ARMS EXPORTS. By *Elton Atwater*, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Elmira College. [Monograph Series of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of International Law, No. 4.] (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; sales agent, Columbia University Press, International Documents Service, New York. 1941. Pp. x, 287. \$2.00.)

EVEN though the heated arguments about neutrality and the arms embargo were drowned out by the roar of battle at Pearl Harbor, this book makes a significant contribution to the understanding of American foreign policy. For a century and a half the arms embargo has been one of the most important instruments of policy wielded by our government; it has been used to discourage revolutions in other countries, to conserve our national resources, to protect our commercial interests abroad, to preserve our neutrality, to restrain aggressor nations. For this reason it is important to keep these various motives in mind before passing judgment upon the wisdom of any particular embargo. Certainly it does not follow that merely because it seemed desirable to prohibit the export of arms to Europe in 1794, a similar move should necessarily be forthcoming in such different situations as those encountered by our government in 1914 and later during the 1930's.

During the first century of its national existence the United States stressed the non-regulation of the private export of arms. After sketching the development of this policy through the World War, the author discusses in detail the regulation of arms shipments to promote stability and to discourage revolution in the Dominican Republic, Mexico, China, Cuba, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Brazil. Here he plows much fresh ground. Then he turns to the postwar era when a peculiar admixture of idealism, isolationism, and internationalism called forth the arms embargo for the twofold purpose of discouraging aggression and keeping the United States out of war. Most of his conclusions are obviously correct: (1) that the importance of the arms embargo has been grossly exaggerated in the matter of staying out of war; (2) that the shipment of food and other supplies is ordinarily more dangerous for neutrals than the shipment of absolute contraband goods; (3) that both the prevention of war and the staying out of war call for more far-reaching measures than mere embargoes; and (4) that embargoes, to be effective, must be carried out on a co-operative international basis.

The reader may object that Professor Atwater is too worried about the tendency of the United States to depart from the beaten path of strict neutrality during 1939-40. Surely by the time the author wrote (August, 1940) we had learned that it was just as unrealistic to place our trust in neutrality in a world dominated by

fascist aggression as it is to rely solely upon the saving grace of Christianity in the center of gangland. Nevertheless, the book is very well written in the best tradition of American scholarship. The arguments, which are carefully reasoned and clearly expressed, have been formulated only after painstaking research in both manuscript and printed documents. As a result the book will be of real value both in an analysis of water over the dam and in the anticipation of thorny problems which must be faced after the war.

University of Louisville

FRANCIS O. WILCOX

JAMES HALL, LITERARY PIONEER OF THE OHIO VALLEY. By *John T. Flanagan*, Assistant Professor of English, University of Minnesota. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1941. Pp. vii, 218. \$2.50.)

"LITERARY Pioneer of the Illinois Country" rather than of the Ohio Valley might be considered an apt subtitle to this life and study of James Hall. Although he spent but twelve years in Illinois, and thirty-six in Ohio, his own development, his most important accomplishments, and his greatest influence came in those dozen years between 1820 and 1833. Hall went to Shawneetown as a young lawyer and newspaper man when Illinois had been a state but two years. Within a year he had become a prosecuting attorney and won the first murder trial in the state. He was circuit judge from 1825 until 1827, when he became state treasurer, in Vandalia, then the capital.

Meanwhile he was for two years editor of the *Illinois Gazette* and of the *Illinois Intelligencer* for three years, published the *Western Souvenir*, and established the *Illinois Monthly Magazine*, first literary magazine west of Ohio. He made the official address of welcome to Lafayette, who visited Shawneetown in 1825. He was principal founder of the Antiquarian and Historical Society of Illinois in 1827, was one of the first trustees of the first college in Illinois, and expressed wise foresight in state promotion of education.

Most of Hall's writing was done before he moved to Cincinnati in 1833, where he spent the rest of his life as a banker. But he continued his active interest in educational, historical, and social work and brought out numerous editions of his earlier writings, keeping abreast of the social, economic, and other developing elements in the Ohio Valley and the Middle West. His only important writing during these later thirty-six years was McKenney and Hall's *The Indian Tribes of North America*.

This first book about Hall, published 109 years after he had made his most significant pioneer contributions to the literature, history, and education of the Middle West, presents a biography, studies of Hall as romancer and historian, literary critic, storyteller, and poet, his characteristic ideas, and his critics; a complete list of his published works, excluding magazine articles, and a bibliography of sources on which each chapter is based.

As *The Nation* said in 1868, "Nobody who would understand how the people of the Great Valley became what they are should neglect Judge Hall." The long neglect is well ended.

Boston, Massachusetts

FRANKLIN W. SCOTT

FORTRESS OF FREEDOM: THE STORY OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS. By *Lucy Salamanca*. With a Foreword by Archibald MacLeish. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1942. Pp. 445. \$4.00.)

It is nearly forty years since the first comprehensive history of the Library of Congress was undertaken. The author, William Dawson Johnston, a member of the library staff, planned an ambitious series of "Contributions to American Library History," the first two volumes of which were to be devoted to the Library of Congress. One feature was to be the publication in full, or *in extenso*, of letters, speeches, and newspaper comments showing the development of library policies or the reactions of public opinion. Mr. Johnston's call to another library unfortunately kept him from carrying his project beyond the first volume, covering the history of the Library of Congress to 1864. But this volume is so rich in material that it is indispensable to students of the subject. It has been utilized by the author of the present book in her earlier chapters to such a degree as should have called for acknowledgment.

Miss Salamanca devotes considerable attention, as might be expected in a work of this type, to the personality of the librarians, from George Watterston to Archibald MacLeish. There is a pathetic phase in the career of Watterston, who after fourteen years' service was summarily dismissed by Jackson because of an untimely interest in the candidacy of Henry Clay. He fought in vain for reinstatement, even after the Whigs came into office. The author adds, "He died unobtrusively in 1854."

The Act of 1802 by which the Library of Congress was organized described it as a library for the "use of both Houses of Congress." A century was to pass before it was commonly regarded as also a "National" library. The author traces the development of the idea but does not relate one important incident which might have been fatal, the assignment by law in 1846 of the second function to the newly organized Smithsonian Institution. Fortunately for the Library of Congress an unsympathetic Board of Regents nullified the provision.

Of much interest to scholars, who look to Washington more and more as a center of studies, are the two chapters entitled "A Job Is Laid Out" and "The Treasure House," which describe the resources of the library in 1899, when Mr. Putnam took charge, and the astonishing developments of the next forty years. More space might have been given to the manuscript collections, for the remark is made that at the opening of the period out of 26,000 items only two "went beyond America." At the close there were over six million, but the collections were "still concentrated on the American field." Of course, under the Rockefeller grant great

numbers of manuscripts in European archives were photocopied, but these were limited to material relating to America. Further details would be in point as to the manuscripts which bear on the general history of European civilization. The final chapter explains the policies and achievements of Mr. MacLeish in the three years since he took office. It also hints what has been done to safeguard the most important books and treasures of the library under the menaces of war.

Western Reserve University

HENRY E. BOURNE

OLD CHICAGO HOUSES. By *John Drury*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1941. Pp. xix, 518. \$4.00.)

ARCHITECTURE IN OLD CHICAGO. By *Thomas E. Tallmadge*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1941. Pp. xv, 218. \$3.00.)

THESE two volumes deal with Chicago buildings and people. Both were published in 1941. In these particulars they are alike, but in other respects they are different. Books on Chicago architecture take on greater significance than those which might be written about other Midwestern places, because Chicago architects invented balloon framing for buildings, said still to be the standard for small houses. Chicago architects are also responsible for the skeleton construction of the modern skyscraper and other less talked of designs.

Mr. Drury's chatty descriptions first appeared as a series of newspaper articles in the *Chicago Daily News*, of which he is a staff member. He has included dwellings which represent passé styles of architecture, the homes of old settlers, the birthplaces and onetime abodes of famous men and women. These houses—one hundred in all—range from those of the 1830's to 1900 and illustrate practically all styles of architecture found in the United States. The book is especially interesting for Chicagoans, because along with the descriptions of dwellings go brightly written biographies of the persons connected with the houses.

Of the two books, the Tallmadge volume, posthumously published, will be of greater interest to those not living in Chicago. Thomas E. Tallmadge was an architect of great renown who chose to write Chicago history in terms of buildings, many of which he designed. *Architecture in Old Chicago* begins with a description of the hut occupied by Marquette in 1674 and closes with a discussion of buildings and building problems in 1893. Chicago's architectural history, of course, really starts in the 1830's when carpenters for a few years alone and then later with the help of J. M. Van Osdel, the city's first architect, hastily constructed the buildings which were absolutely necessary. Van Osdel arrived in 1837. In 1837, too, G. M. Snow, an "old" settler, originated the "balloon framing" which was Chicago's first, but not her last, experiment.

It seems unfair to point out inaccuracies and faults which might have been corrected had the author lived and been able to revise his manuscript. There are, however, seemingly needless errors which should not have appeared even in a first draft. Burling and Bauer (p. 63) must have been Burling and Baumann

(1854) or perhaps Burling and Backus (1855; p. 63); Walter N. Newberry should be Walter L. Newberry (p. 87); Mahlon D. Ogden appears as Mahlon B. and Mahlon O. (opp. p. 86, p. 131); the birthplace of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union was not Evanston (p. 210); the commissions of Chicago architects not only in their own city but in other places are confused (p. 63).

Tallmadge's last chapter returns to the reader the most for time spent. Although the ending is somewhat abrupt, the discussions of stylistic conflicts, the materials with which architects must work, and the problems they must face are informative and interesting.

Both books are well illustrated and typographically appealing. A map of Chicago in the Drury volume shows the location of the houses described and can serve as a guide to the sightseer.

University of Chicago

BESSIE LOUISE PIERCE

THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS. By *Albert C. F. Westphal*. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1942. Pp. 268. \$3.00.)

THIS monograph was prepared by the author while spending a year in Washington as the holder of a predoctoral fellowship of the Social Science Research Council. It is based not only on the printed hearings of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs upon particular bills and resolutions and other congressional publications but also on the unpublished minutes and files of the committee. It is a functional study of the work of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, principally since 1898. The functions of the committee are, first, to acquire information and opinion from outside; second, to formulate its judgment from within; and, third, to persuade the House to adopt the conclusion reached. Only the first two phases are dealt with in this study.

The author points out that, since national elections seldom reflect public sentiment on foreign policy, the responsibility is thrown upon Congress to express what it considers to be the views of its constituents. Being unable to ascertain the views of the executive directly through the question hour, as in the house of commons, Congress uses the committees to accomplish this purpose. The President has never been invited to appear before the committee. Formerly, the Secretary of State frequently appeared before the committee, but since 1920 his appearances have been few. This has been due in part to greater specialization within the State Department, in accordance with which certain subordinates of the Secretary are deputized to appear before the committee. The department also sometimes answers the committee's requests for information by written communications. Although such requests are usually conditioned upon compatibility with the public interests, the department has in recent years seldom attempted to hide behind the cloak of incompatibility, even though it may be forced to give an answer that is brief and perfunctory.

The author points out that the influence of the House and of its Committee on Foreign Affairs in the determination of foreign policies is less than is generally supposed. The control of the purse has not enabled the House to affect treaty obligations, since there is no instance of the House's having failed to vote the necessary funds to carry out a treaty. The powers of the Foreign Affairs Committee are more circumscribed than its name would indicate. It does not deal with such matters as foreign commerce, commercial and reciprocal treaties, or the Export-Import Bank. Moreover, it has no jurisdiction over appropriations.

For these reasons the committee was for many years more ornamental than useful. In recent years, it is true, the increasing impact of foreign affairs upon the nation has brought the committee into greater prominence. Nevertheless, the committee has not grown into a body of experts upon the complexities of foreign policy.

The book is composed in large part of a running factual account of the principal incidents in our foreign relations during the last forty years and of the part played by the Committee on Foreign Affairs in shaping the bills and resolutions relating to these matters. Within this limited scope it is a valuable and illuminating study.

University of Illinois

JOHN M. MATHEWS

CLARENCE DARROW FOR THE DEFENSE: A BIOGRAPHY. By *Irving Stone*. (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 1941. Pp. xi, 570. \$3.00.)

IRVING Stone's *Clarence Darrow for the Defense* is the biography of a colorful and remarkable figure in American history whose life spanned the years of 1857 to 1938.

For most of the time after he was admitted to the bar at the age of twenty-one until the last years of his life, Darrow was a crusader for the "underdog." At the age of twenty-nine he left his first practice at Ashtabula, Ohio, to go to Chicago. There he lived the rest of his life, enjoying success in his profession, exercising a leadership among those trying to understand and settle the complex problems of a rapidly growing city. His success, however, was not confined to Chicago, for his law cases possessed a public importance beyond most others of the time. After the defense of Eugene V. Debs during the Pullman strike Darrow was a figure of national proportions, identifying himself with most of the important labor cases of the day. He defended Mayer, Haywood, and Pettibone of the Western Federation of Miners against a charge of murdering Governor Steunenberg of Colorado, and he was engaged in the much publicized legal proceedings about the McNamara brothers, charged, in 1911, with dynamiting the Los Angeles Times.

American public opinion frequently opposed the stand which Darrow took. His appearance in such cases as the Loeb-Leopold murder case was not understood or condoned by many of his friends, and by his enemies he was roundly con-

demned. In this case, in the "monkey" trial in Tennessee, in the Sweet race riot case in Detroit, and in others, he proved himself the exponent of a new jurisprudence, an innovator in the use of science in the defense of criminals, as well as a humanitarian and eloquent legalist.

In spite of the statement on the jacket that Mr. Stone's book is "backgrounded by what is probably the most complete research job done by any modern biographer," there are an unfortunately high number of historical inaccuracies. For example, the Chicago *Evening Post* was not the first newspaper "to give women space in a column" (p. 120); the memorial meeting for Robert Ingersoll was attended chiefly by his admirers and not by those "who might have been expected to hate Ingersoll"; nor was Ingersoll a Chicago lawyer (p. 121). It should be Rockford, not Rockwood (p. 370). Henry Demarest Lloyd married Jessie Bross and not the daughter of McCormick, who, therefore, did not, as his "father-in-law," dispossess Lloyd (p. 375). These and other errors are disturbing.

At times Mr. Stone's style is undignified and cluttered with long and loosely constructed sentences. This seems the more unfortunate in view of the very good writing of which Mr. Stone is capable.

University of Chicago

BESSIE LOUISE PIERCE

AMERICA'S STRUGGLE FOR FREE SCHOOLS: SOCIAL TENSION AND EDUCATION IN NEW ENGLAND AND NEW YORK, 1827-42. By *Sidney L. Jackson*. Introduction by Professor Merle Curti. (Washington: American Council on Public Affairs. 1941. Pp. viii, 276. Cloth \$3.50, paper \$3.00.)

STIMULATING to all careful students of social problems and provocative of their admiration and gratitude is any work such as Dr. Jackson's monograph, which bears the marks of painstaking and sincere research in some highly significant field sufficiently delimited in time and space to permit exhaustive treatment. As Professor Curti states in his excellent introduction (p. vii), Dr. Jackson's study is "the first thorough investigation of education and democracy in a specific crisis situation." He might well have added it is the first study to attempt to present a vivid and comprehensive picture of the total ideational environment in which the free school idea struggled from infancy to full stature.

With reference to the period chosen, Dr. Jackson writes: "Between 1827 and 1842, American business life rose, crashed (in 1837 and again in 1839), and began to recover—a complete cycle. Thus terminal points were found for an age which included Jacksonian Democracy, much of the Common School Revival, one first class panic, and assorted enthusiasms" (p. 2).

Following an introductory chapter summarizing "the welter of conflicting interests and ideas, worries and hopes" that extended over New England and New York in the 1830's, the author presents his findings in five parts: Part I, Ideas of Intellectual Leadership; Part II, The Ideas of the Educators; Part III, The

Philosophy of Organized Education; Part IV, The Ideas of Rural Publicists; Part V, The Labor and City Protest Movement.

As indicated in the opening paragraph of this review and in the above five titles, Dr. Jackson's interest is primarily in the emergence of the free school idea. His study gives but meager information regarding the legislative, fiscal, and institutional aspects of this struggle. Somewhat subordinated also, though frequently characterized and interpreted briefly, are the services rendered by individuals. What were the social, industrial, economic, political, philosophic, educational, and sectarian ideas which opposed or supported the free school idea in this nascent critical period? These are component elements of the author's *Hauptfrage*.

In order to discover these ideas, hostile or friendly, Dr. Jackson made an exhaustive study of the most widely read "public literature" of the period: almanacs, magazines, newspapers, books, governors' messages, political speeches, college addresses, *et al.*

"On the theory that ideas tend to follow interests," he analyzed, synthesized, and interpreted this mass of literature by relating it to the following politico-economic interest groups creating it: (1) intellectual leaders (the litterati); (2) educational reformers; (3) rural publicists; (4) leaders in the labor and city protest movement.

No attempt can be made to summarize the ideas emanating from each of these groups. Needless to say, within each were found conflicting ideas and attitudes respecting democracy and the common school. Nevertheless, bearing this in mind, certain generalizations were possible.

The intellectual leaders as a group identified their own interests with the social and economic *status quo* and were definitely hostile to Jacksonian democracy and the rise of the common man. The educators, like the litterati, attacked politics and "denounced the democratic upsurge behind it" (p. 93). Forced to gain the support of many diverse groups, they avoided controversial issues (*e.g.*, slavery) as much as possible. "The Masses looked upon any schooling beyond the 3 R's with suspicion" (p. 12). Of all groups, the farmers were most hostile to school taxes. The rural publicists cried out for secular and practical instruction, "not so much for Common Schools and certainly not for colleges but for agricultural schools" (p. 151).

Throughout this critical period "education was always deeply enmeshed in considerations of social and political control. It was a weapon in the contemporary struggles between industrial capitalism and agriculture and between class groups." At no time was it the paramount issue, although its importance did increase. "The immediate cause of the Common School Revival . . . was the socio-political crisis of 1834-37" (pp. 172-73).

The authenticity of Dr. Jackson's research would seem assured by the completeness with which his findings are documented in the sixty-one pages of footnotes which follow the text, an arrangement possibly adopted to reduce printing costs. However, it is occasionally difficult to determine whether statements represent his

own ideas or those embodied in his sources. The value of many of his footnotes would have been increased by explanatory or interpretative annotations.

The topical divisions and subdivisions of his lengthy bibliography will facilitate its usefulness to one desiring to discover trends embodied in specific groups of literature, *e.g.*, magazines, textbooks, college addresses, etc.

An author who attempts to picture the emergence of a movement or an idea in its total ideational and social environment is in danger of losing sight, at times, of his central theme. This Dr. Jackson seems to have done in more than one chapter.

University of California

FLETCHER HARPER SWIFT

A HISTORY OF FREEDOM OF TEACHING IN AMERICAN SCHOOLS.

By *Howard K. Beale*, Professor of History at the University of North Carolina. [Report of the Commission on the Social Studies, the American Historical Association, Part XVI.] (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1941. Pp. xviii, 343. \$2.00.)

In *Are American Teachers Free?*, published as Part XII of the Report of the Commission on the Social Studies, Professor Beale devoted 778 pages of text to "an analysis of restraints upon the freedom of teaching in American schools" below the college level. This companion volume analyzes, in 276 pages of text, comparable restraints in the long period from 1607 to 1939.

Some slight gains in freedom are noted, rather incidentally (pp. 169, 235, 269 ff.), but though the title is positive, the actual approach is negative. Professor Beale finds that the inadequate training and competence of teachers, their inferior social and economic status, and insufficient appropriations for schools and equipment long precluded, and sometimes still preclude, real freedom in the classroom. The American public, moreover, has generally assumed that teaching should be in accord with the views of the majority and that it should support the *status quo*.

Most teachers have belonged to that majority and have accepted, perhaps unconsciously, limitations upon their freedom to advance unpopular views. Professor Beale has used such records of the difficulties of nonconformists or rebels as careful research has revealed. He has also ranged widely through the history of American education and other aspects of social history, identifying in successive periods the dominant interests to which conforming teachers have subscribed. Most of his material relates to what are now called the social studies, though science and religion receive due attention.

In general, "teachers in each century and locality have been allowed freedom to discuss subjects that did not seem to matter and denied freedom on issues about which men did seriously care" (p. xiii; also pp. 166, 230). In the colonial period religious interests, with some related social and economic views, were dominant. The Jeffersonian era brought secularization but failed to end either authoritarianism or the imposition on teachers of majority religious and moral

views. Evangelicism and frontier democracy alike were suspicious of learning; Jacksonian democracy neither demanded nor respected competence in teachers. Nor did the coming of free public education put an end to restrictions. Nationalism in various aspects, the education of Negroes, the issues of slavery and abolitionism, sectionalism, and our industrial system have, in various times and ways, brought restrictions on teachers. Professor Beale gives attention to the efforts of one reform organization, the W.C.T.U., and to the influence of educational foundations on the curriculum and teachers.

The volume rests on painstaking research, on correspondence and interviews, and on an elaborate questionnaire. Its pessimism is no doubt far healthier than complacency. Yet it cites no instance in which freedom of teaching has been permitted or supported. It ignores the processes of textbook and curriculum revision which, though often incomplete, have brought increasingly realistic treatment of political, social, and economic history and issues into history classes, have increased attention to recent and contemporary affairs, and have steadily brought the science taught in the schools more nearly into line with the findings of research. The volume fails adequately to recognize the achievement and promise of professional training of teachers, of professional organizations, and of such efforts and progress as have been made in breaking down those restrictions to which Professor Beale devotes most of his attention.

Columbia University

ERLING M. HUNT

ACADEMIA NACIONAL DE LA HISTORIA: HISTORIA DE LA NACIÓN ARGENTINA (DESDE LOS ORÍGENES HASTA LA ORGANIZACIÓN DEFINITIVA EN 1862). *Ricardo Levene*, Director General. Volume V, LA REVOLUCIÓN DE MAYO HASTA LA ASAMBLEA GENERAL CONSTITUYENTE. (Buenos Aires: Imprenta de la Universidad. 1939. Pp. xv, 811; pp. 986.) Volume IX, HISTORIA DE LAS PROVINCIAS. (*Ibid.*, 1941. Pp. xix, 774.) Volume X, HISTORIA DE LAS PROVINCIAS, LIMITES ENTERPROVINCIALES Y TERRITORIOS NACIONALES. (*Ibid.*, 1942. Pp. xvi, 915.)

THE most important center of historical research and publication in Latin America is the Republic of Argentina. Although confined almost exclusively to the elucidation of the nation's own past, historical investigation is pursued more systematically than in any other country south of the United States. The Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas of the University of Buenos Aires, the National Academy of History and its numerous provincial affiliates, and the Sociedad de Historia Argentina, provide centers of activity and mutual inspiration to which are drawn most of the serious historical scholars of the nation. The Archivo de la Nación in Buenos Aires and several of the provincial archives have published many important series of documents relating to the colony and the struggle for independence. The Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, under the vigorous direction

of Dr. Emilio Ravignani, has performed a remarkable service in making available materials for Argentine history in domestic and foreign archives, and in its quarterly *Boletín* it issues one of the most distinguished historical journals in America. The National Academy of History also has many notable monographic publications to its credit, but its most ambitious project is the *Historia de la nación argentina*. This is a co-operative history appearing in a dozen stout volumes under the general direction of the president of the academy, Dr. Ricardo Levene, who has enlisted the collaboration of a great number of scholars, most of them already well known as authors of important works in their respective fields.

So far seven volumes have appeared, the latest being Volume V in two sections, and Volumes IX and X. The 1797 pages of Volume V are devoted (section I) to the political and economic background in Europe and America of the Argentine struggle for independence and (section II) to events from the May Revolution of 1810 to, but not including, the Constituent Assembly of 1813. Volumes IX and X contain separate histories of the fourteen provinces from 1810 to 1862, with two final chapters devoted to the history of interprovincial boundaries. Thirteen authors contribute to Volume V, fourteen to Volume IX, and ten to Volume X.

Although the work as a whole is intended to offer an integrated picture of the evolution of Argentina as a nation, it must be admitted that this objective has not been completely achieved. Each chapter stands more or less by itself as a monographic contribution in its own right. As may perhaps be almost inevitable in a collaborative effort so comprehensive in scope, the chapters vary in length and quality, and the topics in the minuteness of detail with which they are treated. Some of the chapters are general interpretative essays, others are purely narrative in character. The bibliographies at the end of the chapters are unannotated and of uneven quality. Some of the authors provide numerous and extensive footnotes, others omit them altogether. Volume V is in general well annotated; the "provincial" volumes, IX and X, are almost entirely devoid of this scholarly baggage. Each volume is illustrated with maps, plans, and reproductions of portraits, autographs, and documents. For each there is an index of persons and of places. The paper and typography are of an excellence we commonly expect in publications of this kind in Buenos Aires.

This monumental enterprise, like many others of a cultural nature in Argentina, has received the generous support of the national government. In general it has maintained a high standard of scholarly achievement. While in no sense a synthesis, it brings together in one place the results of most of the significant historical research of recent years in the history of the Argentine people. For this both the government and the National Academy of History deserve grateful recognition. Few other countries of Latin America have arrived at a stage in preliminary monographic investigation which would justify a similar endeavor on their part. The *Historia de la nación argentina* and the spade work upon which

it is based may serve as an example and a stimulus to other members of the Pan American Union.

Harvard University

C. H. HARING

HANDBOOK OF HISPANIC SOURCE MATERIALS AND RESEARCH ORGANIZATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES. Edited by *Ronald Hilton*, Stanford University. With a Foreword by Herbert I. Priestley, Director, Bancroft Library, University of California. Prepared under the Auspices of the Bancroft Library. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1942. Pp. xiv, 441. \$5.00.)

"THE idea of this *Handbook*," says the editor, "was inspired by the discovery that few American scholars of things Hispanic have a clear concept of the various collections and organizations at their disposal [in the United States]." In order to provide them with a clearer concept the editor assembled and published the descriptive statements of which this volume consists. Nearly all the statements were prepared for the editor by some specially qualified person. They are for the most part highly informative, and the volume covers a broad field, which is described as being primarily "the fine arts, the humanities, and the social sciences," though "some exceptional collections" in the natural sciences have been included.

This volume will unquestionably be very useful to Hispanic scholars in this field. For example, it is likely that very few Latin-American historians are aware that, as noted on pages 364-65, the Lamborn Collection in the Philadelphia Museum of Art is "one of the only, if not the only, collection [*sic*] of colonial Spanish paintings in an American museum." At the same time it should also be pointed out that the rather miscellaneous jumble of information in these various descriptive statements ought to have been subjected to a more rigorous editorial revision, with a view to giving the volume better balance, a more selective character, and a more consistent point of view. Thus, the first item, which describes the Museum of Northern Arizona, devotes a page and a half to this institution and the history of the region, although the contributor of this item frankly admits that the museum contains only a few random articles in the field covered by this volume. The last item in the volume describes *Who's Who in Latin America*, a current biographical directory which is very useful to Hispanic scholars but which can hardly be classified as either a research organization or a collection of source materials. In between we find a good deal of space devoted to such items as a half-page list of zoological articles, a fair sample of which is one entitled "Critical Examination of the Meadow Mice of Lower California." Again, it should be noted that the editor describes the collection of the Hispanic Society of America as "undoubtedly . . . the richest general Hispanic collection in the United States" but fails to state that its riches lie mainly in the Iberian field: it is certainly not the richest general collection in the Latin-American field covered in this volume. Moreover, despite the importance that he attaches to this society's collection, the

editor gives less space to it than he does to the far less important collection of the Cleveland (Ohio) Museum of Art. Finally, a revised edition of this volume should call attention to certain manuscript materials not mentioned in this one, such as the letters from Spanish and Spanish-American scholars to Henry C. Lea preserved in the Lea Library (University of Pennsylvania) and the letters from Spanish-American scientists of the nineteenth century preserved in the correspondence files of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia.

University of Pennsylvania

ARTHUR P. WHITAKER

COMPENDIUM AND DESCRIPTION OF THE WEST INDIES. By *Antonio Vázquez de Espinosa*. Translated by *Charles Upson Clark*. [Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Volume 102.] (Washington: Smithsonian Institution. 1942. Pp. xii, 862. \$2.50.)

THIS substantial volume is a detailed and valuable description of Spain's New World empire in about 1628 by the Carmelite missionary from Andalusia, Fray Antonio Vázquez de Espinosa. Charles Upson Clark discovered the manuscript in the Barberini Collection of the Vatican and translated it, adding a useful introduction and an excellent index but no explanatory comments on the text itself. The original plan to present the Spanish original with the translation unfortunately had to be given up, but all students of the Spanish colonial period will be grateful to Mr. Clark and the Smithsonian Institution for publishing at least an English version.

The special virtue of this compendium is not merely that it is the most complete and detailed description available of the people, products, history, and administration of the whole Spanish empire from Mexico to Chile, not omitting the Philippine Islands or Paraguay, but the fact that Vázquez visited most of these places himself. He availed himself of the standard works of his day, such as Herrera and Gómara, but he frequently closes his chapters with the statement that "all of this I verified with my own eyes when I was in that country," for he spent the years 1610-22 in the Indies. In addition he evidently had access to contemporary administrative and military archives, for long tables of valuable data are given. If one wants to know the weight, diameter, size of ball, and powder required for each of the forty-three cannons guarding Morro Castle in Havana, or the salaries of each of the royal officials in Chile, from captain in the army to caulker in the royal navy, or the number of Indians in each curacy of Yucatan in 1609, Vázquez gives the answer. Indeed he refuses to set down information unless he can give full details, for his standards are high. Despite this mass of detail, it is a pleasant book to consult, for the author has a direct and intimate style of his own and obviously was a human being, not merely a statistically minded cleric.

Vázquez describes the whole round of life in the colonies, university graduation exercises in Lima, the use of quinine, an auto-da-fe, whale hunting, hospitals, Indian customs and languages, mosquitoes on the Guayaquil River, and such

delightful minutiae as the information that the rector of the College at Sucre received an allowance of four reals a day for grass for his mule. The author does not hesitate to criticize administrative practices and to suggest improvements, but this compendium illustrates very well the ponderosity, complexity, and grandeur of Spain's empire in America, and one can easily understand why Antonio León Pinelo described the work in his *Epítome* (1629) as "the most exhaustive [work] produced to the present time."

Library of Congress

LEWIS HANKE

INDIANS OF SOUTH AMERICA. By *Paul Radin*, Professor of Anthropology, Black Mountain College. [The American Museum of Natural History Science Series.] (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 1942. Pp. xvii, 324. \$4.00.)

Indians of South America is the first volume in English which attempts to survey the native peoples and cultures of South America in both pre- and post-Columbian times. The purpose of this volume is to give "a general, nontechnical survey of the main aboriginal cultures of the great South American continent, in order to show: first, what are their distinctive and specific traits; second, what relationships, if any, these cultures bear to one another; and third, what are their connections with the cultures of Central America and North America" (p. xii).

In the newly rediscovered Trevisan manuscript, which may date from 1494, Professor Radin finds the first account of the natives of South America. These are the Arawaks, who, with the Carib and Tupi-Guarani tribes of the forests, were the great "wanderers and disseminators" of culture in the eastern half of the continent. In the southern margins of the continent and in refuge areas such as the Brazilian highlands and the upper Amazon are found the representatives of the "Old Stock"—early migrants into South America whose descendants came into little contact with the culture bearers, except on the margins and at a late period. In the highlands is the home of the "great civilizations," the Quechua (Inca) and Aymara, whose descendants still form an important part of the population.

Those who are acquainted with *The Story of the American Indian* will find here the same excellent selection and interpretation of documentary and illustrative material. The reader acquires a vivid acquaintance with the significant aspects of life in selected cultures of representative tribes, based both upon the sixteenth and seventeenth century sources and on the accounts of modern anthropologists. Particularly interesting is the juxtaposition of the accounts of Cieza de Leon and Adolph Bandelier—some 350 years apart—of the native cultures of Peru.

The professional student of the peoples of South America, while gaining much insight into native life and many useful hypotheses, will be somewhat appalled at the extent to which Professor Radin has reconstructed culture history in South America. It seems to this reviewer that he has (1) minimized the influence of Andean cultures upon the rest of South America; (2) assumed that no important

cultural changes took place in eastern South America before the arrival of the Arawaks sometime after 1000 A.D.; and (3) ascribed undue importance to the Arawaks as disseminators of culture in South America. There is space for one example: The Arawaks are brought across North America into the Southeast, where they acquired maize (which had previously been disseminated from Mexico, which in turn probably received it from the Andean region) and other cultural complexes which they took into South America via the Antilles and introduced to their neighbors. This Arawak hypothesis goes beyond the facts and in many cases against them. It is too facile a solution for the complexities of cultural development in South America in aboriginal times.

University of Chicago

FRED EGGAN

* * * *Other Recent Publications* * * *

General History

THE BABYLONIAN GENESIS: THE STORY OF THE CREATION. By *Alexander Heidel*. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1942, pp. 142, \$1.50.)

THE SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. By *David Jacobson*. [Alumni Publication Series, Volume II.] (Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College Press, 1942, pp. 338, \$2.00.) "A study of the origins and early stages of development of the fundamental social institutions among various Semitic peoples of antiquity, especially the Hebrews, as recorded in the Bible."

THE BIBLE IS HUMAN: A STUDY IN SECULAR HISTORY. By *Louis Wallis*. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1942, pp. 346, \$2.50.)

WESTERN CIVILIZATION: THE DECLINE OF ROME TO 1660 and WESTERN CIVILIZATION: SINCE 1660. By *Francis J. Tschan*, the Pennsylvania State College, *Harold J. Grimm*, Ohio State University, *J. Duane Squires*, Colby Junior College. Edited by *Walter Consuelo Langsam*. (Chicago, Lippincott, 1942, pp. 783, xciii, 787-1447, lxxxii, \$3.25 each.)

THE OTTOMAN TURKS AND THE ARABS, 1511-1574. By *George William Frederick Stripling*. [Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences.] (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1942, pp. 136, cloth \$2.00, paper \$1.50.) This excellent monograph begins with a survey of the lands of the Arabs, showing that, previous to the Turkish conquest and occupation, they were already in the early stages of that decay which followed the voyages of the Portuguese and Spaniards. Then the author relates the story of the fall of the Mameluke Empire of Egypt, indicating that the initiative in the war was Egyptian rather than Ottoman. Also he points out that the Mamelukes did not seem to recognize their own weakness and decadence but marched to battle in complete confidence of victory. Following these chapters Dr. Stripling gives a very interesting account of the formation and development of Ottoman institutions of government in Syria and Egypt. It early became evident that they were difficult provinces to administer, for strife and corruption were prevalent. The author continues with a brief description of the conquest of Iraq and of the Ottoman endeavors to control the Beduin Arabs. From the standpoint of European and world history the most significant portion of the study lies in Dr. Stripling's exposition of the many Ottoman attempts to revive the trade in these areas and, especially, to defeat the Portuguese and to drive them from the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, and India. But, like Vienna, these places were too far from the heart of the empire for the sultan to deliver sustained and effective attacks. It is the author's contention that the Turks were not wholly responsible for the later stagnant and impoverished condition of the Arab lands but rather that the shifting trade routes left them isolated from the changing world. Included in the book are three fine maps and an eighteen-page bibliography which in itself is a worthy contribution to the study of this period of the Near East.

SYDNEY NETTLETON FISHER

STEPHEN GRELLET, 1773-1855. By *William Wistar Comfort*. (New York, Macmillan, 1942, pp. 210, \$2.10.)

THE REVOLT OF THE SERBS AGAINST THE TURKS (1804-1813). Translated by *W. A. Morison*. (New York, Macmillan, 1942, pp. 221, \$2.25.) Translation of Serbian folk epics with the originals.

LETTERS FROM PERSIA, WRITTEN BY CHARLES AND EDWARD BURGESS. Edited by *Benjamin Schwartz*. (New York, New York Public Library, 1942, pp. 125, \$1.00.)

EPITOME OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION. By *John Francis Bannon*, Saint Louis University. (Milwaukee, Bruce, 1942, pp. xi, 291, \$2.25.)

WORLD HISTORY AT A GLANCE. By *Joseph Reither*. [New Home Library.] (Garden City, New York, Garden City Publishing Company, 1942, pp. 446, 69 cents.)

GLIMPSES OF WORLD HISTORY: BEING FURTHER LETTERS TO HIS DAUGHTER WRITTEN IN PRISON, AND CONTAINING A RAMBLING ACCOUNT OF HISTORY FOR YOUNG PEOPLE. By *Jawaharlal Nehru*. (New York, John Day, 1942, pp. 1009, \$4.00.)

THEY GOT THE BLAME: THE STORY OF SCAPEGOATS IN HISTORY. By *Kenneth M. Gould*. Foreword by Elmer Davis. (New York, Association Press, 1942, pp. 63, apply.)

EUROPE IN PERSPECTIVE: 1815 TO THE PRESENT. By *James Edward Gillespie*, Professor of Modern European History, the Pennsylvania State College, with the Collaboration of *Anthony Netboy*. (New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1942, pp. xix, 945, lvi, \$4.00.) The author of a valued modern Europe survey to 1815 offers this sturdy continuation volume. Its title and prefatory intimations directly interest a reviewer who long has awaited the ideal "after-1815" college text, presumably written by a specialist in the field and having noteworthy qualities of synthesis, historicity, and basic adequacy. Here, indeed, is an unusual organization of twenty-seven chapters as nine uneven "parts"; yet it involves no logical, fresh synthesis. Actually the general treatment is essentially conventional. Largely it follows that legendary thesis, which usually invalidates historical writings, that the nineteenth century began with reactionary "restorations" perforce entailing all subsequent major crises. Though he misconceives the historic role of the Vienna Congress, Prof. Gillespie does partly reject myths regarding its frivolous wrongheadedness. He properly deems the Holy Alliance not reactionary, Metternich typically conservative. Likewise he would eschew certain formative legends and axis biases often discrediting twentieth century treatments. The intent of chapters on World War I and its settlement is judicial, however wanting or disproportioned their content. Ill-balanced, similarly, are three "dried-egg" chapters—deemed exemplary by the preface—covering all nonpolitical aspects of two full centuries. Better warranted are claims for the unstinted handling of European expansion, the author's recognized field. This limited critique must perforce suffice to characterize this as not the ideal text. Rather than a perspective history it is a compilation of ample old and new data, generally honest and effective, however uneven the worth of basic references cited. The product of mature experience, it has obvious practical qualities. Collaborative editing and other publication exigencies may explain the criticized weaknesses as well as certain make-up features of the book. F. E. MELVIN

MAN'S MOST DANGEROUS MYTH: THE FALLACY OF RACE. By *Montague Francis Ashley-Montagu*. Foreword by Aldous Huxley. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1942, pp. 227, \$2.25.) A cultural anthropologist and anatomist examines the "race" theory and shows the fallacy of this theory.

THE AGES OF THE WORLD. By *Friedrich Schelling*. Translated [from the German] by *Frederick de Wolfe Bolman, jr.* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1942, pp. 262, \$3.00.) "This little-known work of the German philosopher has been translated with an extensive introduction and notes."

A BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR THE STUDY OF EUROPEAN HISTORY, 1815-1939. Compiled by *Lowell Joseph Ragatz*, Professor of History in the George Washington University. (Ann Arbor, Edwards Brothers; distributors, Paul Pearlman, 1711 G Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., 1942, pp. xiv, 272, \$2.00.) This is probably the most complete selective bibliography of works chiefly in English, French, and German covering the years since 1815. The evaluation consists in Dr. Ragatz' care in making the selections, for there is no critical comment. Outstanding articles in periodicals are also listed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF HISTORIES OF SPECIFIC BANKS. By *John A. Musculus*. (Norristown, the author, 717 W. Marshall Street, 1942, pp. 16, 50 cents.)

A HISTORY OF THE EVANGELICAL CHURCH. By *Raymond W. Albright*. (Harrisburg, Evangelical Publishing House, 1942, pp. 520, \$3.50.)

A HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE BRETHREN MOVEMENT. By *H. A. Ironside*. (Grand Rapids, Zondervan, 1942, pp. 219, \$2.00.)

THE HISTORY AND EVOLUTION OF SURGICAL INSTRUMENTS. By *Charles John Samuel Thompson*. (New York, Schuman's, 20 East 70th Street, 1942, pp. 115, \$8.50.)

A SHORT HISTORY OF LIFE INSURANCE. By *Mildred F. Stone*. (Indianapolis, Insurance Research and Review Service, 1942, pp. 92, \$1.25.)

TEACHING THE SOCIAL STUDIES. By *Edgar Bruce Wesley*. Second edition. (Boston, Heath, 1942, pp. 670, \$3.00.)

THEY CALLED HIM FATHER: THE LIFE STORY OF JOHN CHRISTIAN FREDERICK HEYER. By *E. Theodore Bachmann*. (Philadelphia, Muhlenberg Press, 1942, pp. 342, \$1.75.) This volume has met already with approval, and this reviewer also calls it good. It was written in connection with the celebration in 1941 of the centennial of the American Lutheran Mission in India. It is the biography of "Father" John Christian Frederick Heyer (1793-1873), who instituted his church's work in India and otherwise had a prominent share in the extension of Lutheranism in Pennsylvania and Minnesota. This is the first full-length account of one whose career was of unusual importance in the extension of Christianity in India, in particular. It depicts Heyer amidst the times and scenes contemporary with his eighty years in America, Germany, and the East. The study is objective, never sentimental. There is in it even a faint note of gentle cynicism now and then. The study raises incidentally such issues as the intrinsic worth of foreign missions, some connections direct and indirect of commerce, class, and missions, the place of the foreigner in modern India, the merits of peculiarly sectarian and denominational enterprise, and a missionary's intellectual equipment and social behavior. Heyer's life is given in terms of adventure. He was a hardy, restless man, thriving on activity and a change of scene. At the age of seventy-seven he set out on his third trip to India, journeying two months by sail and six weeks more by oxcart and otherwise before arrival at his old station, Rajahmundry. A little adverse criticism might be indulged in, for the author seems not to know his India too well, even while he uses his sources faithfully. Among the more serious slips

are allusions to Sanskrit as the "oldest" language of India, to the pariahs as a "caste," and to an "incarnation of the deity Siva." Nevertheless, the book has color and charm in Heyer's own personality.

JOHN CLARK ARCHER

KINGDOM PATHFINDERS: BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF FOREIGN MISSIONARIES. By *George Drach*. (Philadelphia, Muhlenberg Press, 1942, pp. 168, 60 cents.) Of the nine subjects of brief sketches in this little volume five worked in India, one in Liberia, one in Japan, one in China, and one in South America as well as India. The chief figure is Father Heyer, who found time to serve in Minnesota in the early sixties.

FEDERATION: ITS NATURE AND CONDITIONS. By *A. Berriedale Keith*, Regius Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology; Lecturer on the Constitution of the British Empire in the University of Edinburgh. [Historical Association Pamphlet, No. 123.] (Exeter, Devon, Historical Association, Roborough Library, University College, 1942, pp. 23, 1s. 1d.)

PRINCIPLES OF WAR. By *Carl von Clausewitz*. Translated and edited with an Introduction by Hans W. Gatzke. (Harrisburg, Military Service Publishing Company, 1942, pp. 82, \$1.00.)

TOWARDS A UNITED STATES OF EUROPE: PROPOSALS FOR A BASIC STRUCTURE. By *Abraham Weinfeld*. (Washington, American Council on Public Affairs, 1942, pp. 52, \$1.00.)

TOWARD INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION: A SERIES OF LECTURES AT OBERLIN COLLEGE. By *Howard Robinson* and others. (New York, Harper, 1942, pp. 226, \$2.00.)

TURKEY. By *Barbara Ward*. [World To-day.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1942, pp. 121, \$1.00.)

THE FUTURE OF THE SMALL STATES. By *Oscar J. Falnes*. [Problems of Post-War Reconstruction Series.] (Washington, American Council on Public Affairs, 1942, pp. 21, apply.)

THE NEGRO IN THE CARIBBEAN. By *Eric Williams*. [Bronze Booklet No. 8.] (Washington, Associates in Negro Folk Education, Box 636, Ben Franklin Station, 1942, pp. 119, 50 cents.)

INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONVENTIONS: THEIR INTERPRETATION AND REVISION. By *Conley Hall Dillon*. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1942, pp. xii, 271, \$3.00.)

POUVOIR: LES GÉNIES INVISIBLES DE LA CITÉ. By *Guglielmo Ferrero*. (New York, Brentano's, 1942, pp. 345, \$1.50.)

THE FACE OF THE WAR, 1931-1942. By *Samuel H. Cuff*. Maps by James McNaughton and Robert Bright. (New York, Messner, 1942, pp. 290, \$3.00.)

THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL DOCTRINES OF CONTEMPORARY EUROPE. By *Michael Oakeshott*. With a Foreword by Ernest Barker. American edition, with five Prefaces by Frederic A. Ogg. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1942, pp. xxiii, 241, \$2.75.)

THE THREE DICTATORS: MUSSOLINI, STALIN, HITLER. By *Frank Owen*.
Revised edition. (New York, Norton, 1942, pp. 270, \$2.50.)

SEA POWER IN THE PACIFIC, 1936-1941: A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BOOKS, PERIODICAL ARTICLES, AND MAPS, FROM THE END OF THE LONDON NAVAL CONFERENCE TO THE BEGINNING OF THE WAR IN THE PACIFIC. By *Werner B. Ellinger* and *Herbert Rosinski*. With an Introduction by Edward Mead Earle. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1942, pp. xiv, 80, \$1.00.)

THE ECONOMIC DEFENSE OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE: A STUDY IN CONFLICTS. A Symposium of the Latin American Economic Institute—containing an Introduction by *William P. Everts* and Contributions by *R. F. Behrendt*, *John F. Normano*, *Fred Lavis*, *H. B. Davis*, *Rodrigues Silva*, *E. B. Dietrich*, *Scott Nearing*, and the National Planning Association. (Washington, American Council on Public Affairs, 1941, pp. 170, cloth \$2.00, paper \$1.50.) The task ahead of the United States, if our side is to shape the economic future structure of the world, will have to take into account the heterogeneous materials and philosophies contained in this book. This investigation into economic conflicts, with which it is convincingly demonstrated the Western Hemisphere abounds, suggests a dilemma for peacemakers. If they enter upon a moderate postwar reconstruction program for Europe, they will fail to solve our hemisphere's problems, which have so many roots in Europe. If they are thoroughgoing in the necessary European part of a solution, a more difficult task is ahead. Since the latter course alone now is acceptable, it is time that we get on with the greater intellectual effort it requires of us. The questions discussed in this book vary widely. They range from a review of Canada's position and an analysis of the Western Hemisphere's trade through, curiously enough, the observation of the only businessman contributor that when we become, as Europe has, "content with a fairly sure 4 or 5 percent," we too can stimulate our manufacturing capacity. Another essay announces the death of the Good Neighbor Policy at the hands of a new American imperialism. Still another provides a good account of totalitarian methods of penetration into Latin America. This, however, is immediately followed by one in which the thesis is advanced that "the principle of competitive struggle for world mastery . . . has forced the United States into a position in which it must challenge the British Empire, and [to] salvage and appropriate as much of its holdings in the Western Hemisphere and the Pacific." Despite these intransigent materials, Dr. Normano concludes with a summary remarkable indeed for its clarification of the problems of "continental organization" both in Europe and America and for its clear statement of long-run objectives that must prevail if there is to be peace. Except for this essay the plural in the subtitle should have been transposed to read "Studies in Conflict."

ARTHUR R. UPGREN

INTERNATIONAL LAW DOCUMENTS, 1940. [Naval War College.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1942, pp. vi, 257, 75 cents.) The War College publication this year does not deal with the usual discussions, notes, and solutions of international law situations or topics, but is a compilation of forty-nine documents concerning belligerents and neutrals, covering the period from the invasion of Norway through the issuance of the proclaimed list of certain blocked nationals—from April 27, 1940, through July 17, 1941. Most of the documents are reprints from the Department of State *Bulletin*, the stated purpose being to make them "readily available to naval officers." The 1940 volume is, in some respects, similar to the one issued in

1916, which consisted primarily of neutrality proclamations and regulations. The 1916 issue, however, contained annotations concerning neutrality questions and also many foreign documents. A few foreign documents are included in the 1940 volume, reprinted from the *New York Times*. It is stated in the preface that the discussions in the 1940 Naval War College classes gave special attention to international law in its relation to the conduct of the present war. Neither the discussions nor resulting conclusions are set forth. The series is continued, as has been the case since 1938, in collaboration with Professor Payson Sibley Wild, jr., of Harvard University.

WILLARD B. COWLES

THE ATLANTIC CHARTER AND AFRICA FROM AN AMERICAN STAND-POINT. A Study by the Committee on Africa, the War, and Peace Aims. (New York, Africa Bureau, 156 Fifth Avenue, 1942, pp. xi, 164, 75 cents.) "The application of the 'Eight Points' of the Charter to the problems of Africa, and especially those related to the welfare of the African people living south of the Sahara, with related material on African conditions and needs."

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Volume LXVI, OCTOBER, 1936-MAY, 1941. (Boston, the Society, 1942, pp. xiv, 613.) Very few of the twenty-four papers and addresses in this volume are wholly local or antiquarian in theme or interest. Of the papers which for various reasons should appeal to historical scholars in a wider area the following might be singled out: Wilbur C. Abbot, "The First Newspapermen" (in England especially, 1640-53); Henry Adams, "Why Did Not England Recognize the Confederacy?"; Stewart Mitchell, "Henry Adams and Some of His Students"; Henry S. Commager, "John Fiske: An Interpretation"; George G. Wolkins, "Writs of Assistance in England"; Zechariah Chafee, jr., "Reapportioning the House of Representatives under the 1940 Census"; and Samuel E. Morison, "Albert Bushnell Hart: A Tribute." The address on the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary founding of the society was delivered by Dr. Dixon Ryan Fox.

THE ACADEMIC MAN: A STUDY IN THE SOCIOLOGY OF A PROFESSION. By Logan Wilson. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1942, pp. 254, \$3.00.)

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL YEAR BOOK: A COMPENDIUM OF THE WORLD'S PROGRESS FOR THE YEAR 1941. Edited by Charles Earle Funk and others. (New York, Funk and Wagnalls, 1942, pp. 782, \$6.25.)

1942 BRITANNICA BOOK OF THE YEAR: A RECORD OF THE MARCH OF EVENTS OF 1941. (Chicago, Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1942, pp. 775, \$10.00.)

CORNELL UNIVERSITY ABSTRACTS OF THESES. (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1941, pp. 569, \$2.00.)

STANFORD STUDIES IN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE, 1941, FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF STANFORD UNIVERSITY. Edited by Hardin Craig. (Stanford University, published by the University, 1941, pp. vi, 387, cloth \$3.50, paper \$3.00.) This stout volume is an extremely miscellaneous list of brief and well-written essays in the field of linguistics and literature. All the authors are or have been connected in some way with Stanford. Three of the papers have titles indicative of historical subjects: Albert Guérard, "The Growth of the Historical Spirit"; Robert A. Hume, "Henry Adams's Quest for Certainty"; and William Leonard Schwartz, "Diplomats in Modern French Literature."

CURRENT NATIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHIES: A LIST OF SOURCES OF INFORMATION CONCERNING CURRENT BOOKS OF ALL COUNTRIES. Compiled by *Lawrence Heyl*. Revised edition. (Chicago, American Library Association, 1942, pp. 19, 75 cents, mimeographed.)

AN INDEX TO INDEXES: A SUBJECT BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PUBLISHED INDEXES. By *Norma Olin Ireland*, Director, Ireland Indexing Service, El Monte, California. [Useful Reference Series, No. 67.] (Boston, F. W. Faxon, 1942, pp. xvi, 107, \$1.75.) The index is obviously intended as an aid to reference work in small libraries, its use for serious study being curtailed by the omission of all foreign language indexes and all but a half dozen published outside the United States. The majority of entries are for cumulative indexes of American periodicals, with the remaining entries largely indexes to governmental publications or lists and bibliographies published by them. Several categories are included which would seem to be outside the book's field as limited by its title, such as various encyclopedias, analytical indexes to the works of individual authors, and some fifty dictionaries of quotations. The choice of indexes included is not clear. The index to the *Journal of Farm Economics*, 1919-38, is given, but not that for the *Journal of Dairy Science*, 1917-37; for the American Surgical Association's *Transactions*, 1880-1906, but not for *Annals of Surgery*, 1885-1935. The excellent index to the quarterly *Journal of Economics*, covering 1886-1936, and the index to the American Society of International Law's *Proceedings*, 1907-20, are both omitted. The index covering 1867-1920 of the *Transactions* of the American Society of Civil Engineers is given, but not its index for 1921-34. Of the twenty-nine indexes under the subject heading "Agriculture," nineteen are indexes for publications of the United States Department of Agriculture—which published a more complete index of its own. In this field only three entries list material later than 1938, and only five more later than 1930. The book is neither comprehensive nor consistent, and it does not bring all the indexes mentioned down to date. WINIFRED GREGORY

ARTICLES

- JOSEPH MCSORLEY. Ten Centuries of History. *Cath. World*, Oct.
 GEORGE WILLIAM ZINKE. Six Letters from Malthus to Pierre Prévost. *Jour. Ec. Hist.*, Nov.
 JOHN W. OLMSTED. The Scientific Expedition of Jean Richer to Cayenne. *Isis*, Autumn.
 J. L. BENVENISTI. Versailles and the Moralists. *Cath. World*, Oct.
 AMIN A. KHAIRALLAH. Arabic Contributions to Anatomy and Surgery. *An. Med. Hist.*, Sept.
 ERNST CORRELL. The Sociological and Economic Significance of the Mennonites as a Cultural Group in History. *Mennonite Quar. Rev.*, July.
 PAUL CRISSMAN. Progress and Education. *Educ. Forum*, May.
 F. CYRIL JAMES. The Impact of the War upon Social Progress. *Educ. Recs.*, July.
 JAMES M. GILLIS. "Immune to History." *Cath. World*, Oct.
 EGON KASKELINE. A "Made in Germany" Europe. *Current Hist.*, Oct.
 PAUL B. HORTON. Does History Show Long-time Trends? *Sci. Monthly*, Nov.
 FRANCIS H. HERRICK. The British and the German Armies. *South Atlantic Quar.*, July.
 ROBERT G. CALDWELL. The Anglo-Portuguese Alliance Today. *For. Affairs*, Oct.
 C. C. CRITTENDEN. History for the People. *Year Book* of the Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies, 1941-42.
 TENNEY FRANK. Changing Conceptions of Literary and Philological Research. *Jour. Hist. Ideas*, Oct.
 LLEWELLYN PFANKUCHEN. Doctoral Dissertations in Political Science. *Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, Aug.
 List of Doctoral Dissertations in Political Economy. *Am. Ec. Rev.*, Sept.

Ancient History¹

T. R. S. Broughton

WHAT DEMOCRACY MEANT TO THE GREEKS. By *Walter R. Agard*. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1942, pp. xii, 278, \$3.00.) This admirably organized and clearly written book, fully equipped for that use in the classroom which it richly deserves, has a threefold character: it is at once a brief, selective history of the development of Greek culture from Homer to the later Stoics, an analysis of the way in which the Greeks (chiefly the Athenians) practiced democracy, and a tract for the times. In an introductory chapter Mr. Agard sets down ten characteristic values of democracy and proceeds to show with what degree of success they were realized in the ancient society which gave us the very concept and the word itself. Democracy as outlined in the funeral speech by Pericles, which serves the author as an apt text, was a unity exhibited in numerous forms, in education, the drama, community art, etc., as well as in politics. The darker side of the theme is not concealed, for Mr. Agard places in their proper relation to the Athenian system the problems of slavery, the low status of women, and the hypocritical atrocity of an actual democracy deliberately establishing an empire and fighting desperately to retain and even re-establish it. In such a thought-provoking book one may feel entitled to a comment or so upon the subject matter. Thus there is room for doubt whether Solon's *to ison* meant merely "equality before the law" rather than "fair treatment" in general. For the first one would expect the avoidance of *civil strife*, while the word *war* suggests here the relations between states—it was the early Pythagoreans who first gave classic formulation to the principles of the authoritarian state (*C. J.* 33,537-9). Homer at least partly anticipated Aristotle in the principle of the "slave by nature" (155). Especially admirable is chapter x as an analysis, in terms of a democratic ideology of the dramatic and ethical problems involved in the doctrines of fate and free will. Like many students of democracy before him, Mr. Agard seeks the remedy for its ills in yet more of the same thing, specifically an intensive democracy at home and a more inclusive democracy abroad; accepting thus the first steps, for the race, toward the ideal of the Stoic Zeno (although he is not mentioned in this connection), who "conceived a world-society, in which there would be no separate States; one great City of gods and men, where all should be citizens and members one of another, bound together not by human laws but by love" (G. Murray). Perhaps we still have something to learn from the Greek, and that not merely in matters to avoid but also in goals which we might profitably seek.

W. A. OLDFATHER and L. R. LIND

ON AGRICULTURE. By *Lucius Junius Moderatus Columella*. With an English Translation by *Harrison Boyd Ash*. [Loeb Classical Library.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1942, pp. 482, \$2.50.)

CORPUS VASORUM ANTIQVORVM: UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, FOGG MUSEUM AND GALLATIN COLLECTIONS. By *George H. Chase* and *Mary Zelia Pease*. U. S. A., Fascicule 8. [Union académique internationale.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1942, pp. 116, plates XLII, 33-64, \$5.00.) This fascicule of sixty-eight plates presents interesting material of many periods, ranging from Myce-

¹ Under this and the following headings unsigned notices are, in general, contributed by the persons whose names appear at the heads of the divisions and who are otherwise responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

naean, East Greek, and Cypriote to Etruscan and Roman, with the emphasis—at least in the Gallatin Collection—on Attic black- and red-figure. The collection of vases in the Fogg Museum is made up largely of gifts by generous friends. The most important part, the Hoppin Collection, was bequeathed in 1924 and was published in the *Corpus* in 1926. The material, now excellently described by Dr. Chase, is good study material and includes a few exceptional Attic pieces, such as a seventh century jug, and fifth century examples by the Foundry Painter, the Berlin Painter, and the Euaion Painter. The Gallatin Collection is qualitatively of course much higher, having been purchased piece by piece by a discriminating collector. Part of it was published by Mr. Gallatin in 1926 in the same fascicule as the Hoppin vases. The examples now described are those subsequently purchased. Just before the publication of this fascicule the whole collection was acquired by the Metropolitan Museum. Among the high spots in the present fascicule are a seventh century ointment jug in the form of a helmeted head with a gorgoneion on the frontal, and vases by such distinguished Attic painters as Pheidippos, the Magnoncourt Painter, the Euaichme Painter, and the Providence Painter. Among the most remarkable is a group of four lekythoi by the Sappho Painter, one with a unique subject: Helios rising from the sea while the goddesses of night and dawn depart and Herakles squats on a rock and roasts pieces of meat over a burning altar—evidently a sacrificial rite at sunrise. Miss Pease's text on this important material is worthy of high praise. It is concise and to the point and yet comprehensive. The descriptions are vivid, pithy, interpretative, accurate; the discussions and comparisons sound, revealing expert knowledge and wide reading. The plates could have been extended and more details given to advantage.

GISELA M. A. RICHTER

GENERAL ARTICLES

- JAMES H. GAUL. Possibilities of Prehistoric Metallurgy in the East Balkan Region. *Am. Jour. Archaeol.*, Sept.
- STERLING DOW. Studies in the Athenian Tribute Lists. I. *Class. Philol.*, Oct.
- Id.* Corinthia. *Harvard Stud. Class. Philol.*, LIII.
- H. LLOYD STOW. Aristophanes' Influence upon Public Opinion. *Class. Jour.*, Nov.
- KENDRICK PRITCHETT. The Tribe Ptolemais. *Am. Jour. Philol.*, Oct.
- A. C. ANDREWS. Alimentary Use of Hoary Mustard in the Classical Period. *Isis*, Autumn.
- GRAHAME CLARK. Bees in Antiquity. *Antiquity*, Sept.
- J. C. PLUMPE. Ancient Convoying. *Class. Weekly*, Oct. 26.
- A. D. FRASER. The Myth of the Phalanx-Scrimmage. *Ibid.*, Oct. 12.
- SOLOMON KATZ. The Gracchi: An Essay in Interpretation. *Class. Jour.*, Nov.
- WILLIAM LINN WESTERMANN. Industrial Slavery in Roman Italy. *Jour. Ec. Hist.*, Nov.
- GEORGE MCCracken. The Villa and Tomb of Lucullus at Tusculum. *Am. Jour. Archaeol.*, Sept.
- LILY ROSS TAYLOR. Caesar's Colleagues in the Pontifical College. *Am. Jour. Philol.*, Oct.
- Eadem.* The Election of the *Pontifex Maximus* in the Late Republic. *Class. Philol.*, Oct.
- NORMAN J. DEWITT. Caesar and the Alexander Legend. *Class. Weekly*, Nov. 2.
- JUANITA M. DOWNES. Caesar the Geographer. *Ibid.*
- JAMES H. OLIVER. C. Sulpicius Galba, Proconsul of Achaia. *Am. Jour. Archaeol.*, Sept.
- A. T. OLMSTEAD. The Mid-Third Century of the Christian Era. II. *Class. Philol.*, Oct.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL ARTICLES

- E. DOUGLAS VAN BUREN. A Collection of Cylinder Seals in the Bibliotheca Vaticana. *Am. Jour. Archaeol.*, Sept.
- EDITH PORADA. The Warrior with Plumed Helmet, a Study of Syro-Cappadocian Cylinder Seals and Bronze Figurines. *Berytus*, VII, no. 1.
- A. W. VAN BUREN. News Items from Rome. *Am. Jour. Archaeol.*, Sept.
- CLARK HOPKINS. The Parthian Temple. *Berytus*, VII, no. 1.

DORO LEVI. *Mors Voluntaria*, Mystery Cults on Mosaics from Antioch. *Ibid.*

DONALD F. BROWN. The Arcuated Lintel and Its Symbolic Interpretation in Late Antique Art. *Am. Jour. Archaeol.*, Sept.

Medieval History

Gaines Post

MEDIAEVAL FEUDALISM. By *Carl Stephenson*, Professor of History, Cornell University. (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1942, pp. ix, 116, \$1.25.) Professor Stephenson has written a clear and attractive essay on an extremely complicated subject. By cutting the discussion down to the essentials he has produced a fine presentation. In his discussion of the origins of feudalism he has emphasized the pertinent and dodged the more controversial issues to produce an account which brings out the strongly Germanic background of feudalism. By completely omitting any discussion of the manorial system he has avoided the besetting sin of most popularizers of feudalism. His chapters on the "Principles of Feudal Tenure" and "Chivalry" are the best part of the essay. They are models of intelligent condensation and sound sense which leave the reader with as clear a grasp of the fundamentals of feudalism as one could expect in so brief a space. The explanations of "the knight" and "the fief" are especially clear. In the discussion of "The Feudal Nobility" he has wisely drawn on the Bayeux Tapestry for his pictures of furniture and equipment, thus emphasizing the primitive aspects of rising feudalism. Perhaps a few more pages on diversions and the ordinary life of the feudal noble might have been added. The least successful chapter is that on "Feudalism and the Mediaeval State." He rightly insists on the natural rise of feudalism to fill a political need. But when he comes to the main discussion he, like so many English and American scholars, seems at home only in France and England. We could have welcomed a less summary dismissal of feudalism in Central Europe and Italy. His final chapter on "The Decay of Feudalism" ranks among his best in its restrained appraisal of gunpowder and its emphasis on the economic factors. Taken altogether, Professor Stephenson has furnished us with a brief and clear discussion of feudalism attractive enough for the general reader and adequate enough to place in the hands of our students. J. E. WRENCH

THE MIDDLE AGES, 395-1500. By *Joseph R. Strayer*, Henry Charles Lea Professor of History, Princeton University, and *Dana Carleton Munro*, Late Dodge Professor of Medieval History, Princeton University. [The Century Historical Series, William E. Lingelbach, Editor.] (New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1942, pp. ix, 568, \$4.00.) One of the most eminent of our younger medievalists has reorganized and rewritten the chief synthesizing work of a patriarch of medieval studies in America. Within its deliberately chosen limitations the result is a triumph: a book which cannot fail to influence widely the teaching and thinking of scholars concerned with the Middle Ages and early Renaissance. As a general survey it suffers from serious inadequacies arising chiefly from restrictions of length imposed by the publisher, but in his preface Strayer legitimately insists that drastic selectivity is the alternative preferable to superficiality. He has compressed the period before 1000 into 157 pages. He has minimized discussion of the fine arts, literature, science, philosophy, theology, and the more intimate aspects of religion. Cassiodorus is presented not as the father of Benedictine erudition but as Theodoric's pedantic secretary; Bede appears merely as the source of a quotation; Thomas Aquinas is mentioned thrice, and briefly; Italian art from Giotto

to Michelangelo is given a page. This is the price which Strayer has paid to make possible a masterly treatment of the political, institutional, and economic aspects of his period. Within the area which he has chosen to cultivate, Strayer writes with authority and clarity. The reader's pencil will blunt itself with underscoring rather than with marginal expostulation. So far as the present reviewer can judge, the author's information and opinions in these matters are not simply abreast of the monographs: they rest likewise on conversation with the scholars who will write the monographs of the next few years. Strayer has an enviable ability to pose a problem succinctly, to summarize intricate discussion, and to illuminate his meaning with an epigram or an apt analogy from modern experience. Of the economic revival of the later Middle Ages he asks, "Why did merchants find it to their advantage to travel through a continent divided into petty, warring feudal states, when they had not been able to profit by the security and relative freedom of trade offered by the Roman Empire?" A revolution is condensed into a line: "The great estate was no longer a way of life; it had become an investment." The ethical contrast between medieval and modern economic thought could not be better characterized: "The Church would no more have admitted that the principle of supply and demand should dominate economic activity than a doctor would admit that the principle of the survival of the fittest should dominate his medical practice." Clearly, here is a volume, designed for university students, which will be gratefully read and pondered by professional historians as well.

LYNN WHITE, JR.

EXETER VIGNETTES: CLAREMBALD AND THE MIRACLES OF EXETER, EXETER IN NORMAN DAYS, THE MURDER OF THE PRECENTOR. By *Frances Rose-Troup*. [University College of the South-West of England, History of Exeter Research Group, Monograph No. 7.] (Manchester, Manchester University Press, for the University College of the South-West of England, 1942, pp. 57, 5s.)

SAADYA GAON, SCHOLAR, PHILOSOPHER, CHAMPION OF JUDAISM. By *David Druck*. Translated from the Yiddish by *M. Z. R. Frank* (New York, Bloch, 1942, pp. 96, \$1.00.)

THE MEDIEVAL FRENCH "ROMAN D'ALEXANDRE." Volume IV, "LE ROMAN DU FIERRE DE GADRES" D'EUSTACHE, ESSAI D'ÉTABLISSEMENT DU TEXTE. By *E. C. Armstrong* and *Alfred Foulet*. Volume V, VERSION OF ALEXANDRE DE PARIS: VARIANTS AND NOTES TO BRANCH II. With an Introduction by *Frederick B. Agard*. [Elliott Monographs in the Romance Languages and Literatures, edited by Edward C. Armstrong, Numbers 39 and 40.] (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1942, pp. vii, 110; v, 250, \$5.00.)

SAINTS AND SINNERS IN OLD ROMANCE: POEMS OF FEUDAL FRANCE AND ENGLAND. By *Charles Maxwell Lancaster*. (Nashville, Vanderbilt University Press, 1942, pp. xxviii, 438, \$3.00.) These poems are translations of medieval French and Anglo-Norman works chosen primarily for the student and general reader interested in the opera, the church, and the institution of chivalry. The literature classed under the heading "The Saints" includes the Sequence of Saint Eulalia, The Life of Saint Leger, The Martyrdom of Saint Thomas of Canterbury, The Life of Saint Alexis, and Robert the Devil. Under the heading "The Sinners" one finds The Wish of Aucassin, Fair Yolanth, and six selections on the Tristan Theme. The volume should help teachers in search of translations and presents in convenient and compact form materials appearing for the first time in English and other items scattered in various collections. The reviewer found the writing of the introduction somewhat too

"literary" to suit his personal taste and is of the opinion that here, as elsewhere, figurative language so often lacks the force and clarity of direct statement.

GRAY C. BOYCE

CHRONOLOGY, DIPLOMATICS, PALEOGRAPHY

- HANS ZEISS. Die Chronologie der Reihengräberfunde. *Hist. Jahrb.*, LX, nos. 3-4.
 BERNHARD BISCHOFF. Ostertagtexte und Intervalltafeln. *Ibid.*
 MARTIN HONECKER. Die Entstehung der Kalendar-reformschrift des Nikolaus von Cues. *Ibid.*
 EDMUND E. STENGEL. Luls Vermächtnis an Fulda. *Ibid.*
 GUDILA, FREIFRAU VON PÖLNITZ-KEHR. Kaiserin Angilberga. Ein Exkurs zur Diplomatik Kaiser Ludwigs II. von Italien. *Ibid.*
 CARL ERDMANN. Signum Hecilonis episcopi. *Ibid.*
 MARTIN GRABMANN. Die Autographie von Werken des hl. Thomas von Aquin. *Ibid.*
 KARL OTTO MÜLLER. Eine Handschrift der Regula S. Benedicti aus der Gründungszeit des Klosters Zwiefalten. *Ibid.*, nos. 1-2.
 WILLIAM A. HINNEBUSCH. Diplomatic Activities of the English Dominicans in the Thirteenth Century. *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, Oct.

GENERAL AND INSTITUTIONAL ARTICLES AND DOCUMENTS

- WILHELM ENSSLIN. Rex Theodoricus inlitteratus? *Hist. Jahrb.*, LX, nos. 3-4.
 FRANZ DÖLGER. Die "Familie der Könige" im Mittelalter. *Ibid.*
 W. SCHLESINGER. Kaiser Arnulf und die Entstehung des deutschen Staates und Volkes. *Hist. Zeitsch.*, CLXIII, no. 3.
 WILHELM HEUPEL. Von der staufischen Finanzverwaltung in Kalabrien. *Hist. Jahrb.*, LX, nos. 3-4.
 MICHAEL SEIDLMAYER. Papst Bonifaz VIII. und der Kirchenstaat. *Ibid.*, nos. 1-2.
 FRANZ PELSTER. Die zweite Rede Markwarts von Randeck für die Aussöhnung des Papstes mit Ludwig von Bayern. *Ibid.*
 JOHANNES VINCKE. Die Gesandtschaften der aragonischen Könige um die Reliquien der hl. Barbara (1322-1372). *Ibid.*
 C. C. BAYLEY. Petrarch, Charles IV, and the "Renovatio Imperii." *Speculum*, July.
 SYLVIA L. THRUPP. Medieval Gilds Reconsidered. *Jour. Ec. Hist.*, Nov.
 V. H. GALBRAITH. A New Life of Richard II. *History*, Mar.
 W. H. DUNHAM, JR. Notes from the Parliament at Winchester, 1449. *Speculum*, July.
 GUIDO KISCH. American Research in Mediaeval Legal History. *Jurist*, July.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL

- J. H. ILIFFE. A Building Inscription from the Syrian "Limes," A.D. 334. *Quar. Depart. Antiq. Palestine*, X, nos. 2 and 3.
 ARTHUR O. LOVEJOY. The Communism of Saint Ambrose. *Jour. Hist. Ideas*, Oct.
 H. G. RICHARDSON. The Medieval Plough-Team. *History*, Mar.
 R. DI TUCCI. Beniamino da Tudela e il suo viaggio. *Boll. R. Società Geogr. Ital.*, Oct., 1941.
 HAROLD GLIDDEN. A Comparative Study of the Arabic Nautical Vocabulary from Al-'Aqabah, Transjordan. *Jour. Am. Oriental Soc.*, Mar.
 F. P. MAGOUN, JR. The Italian Itinerary of Philip II (Philippe-Auguste) in the Year 1291. *Speculum*, July.
 E. M. CARUS-WILSON. An Industrial Revolution of the Thirteenth Century. *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, XI, no. 1.
 F. L. CARSTEN. Slavs in North-Eastern Germany. *Ibid.*
 FR. RÖRIG. Volkskunde, Hanse und materialistische Geschichtsschreibung. *Hist. Zeitsch.*, CLXIII, no. 3.
 KARL PRINZ VON ISENBURG. Die geschichtliche Entwicklung von Sippenkunde und Sippenforschung bis zum Ende des Dreissigjährigen Krieges. *Hist. Jahrb.*, LX, nos. 1-2.
 Id. Die geschichtliche Entwicklung der Sippenforschung in der neueren Zeit. *Ibid.*, nos. 3-4.

BYZANTINE, ISLAMIC, AND ORIENTAL

- ANTON MICHEL. Lateinische Aktenstücke und Sammlungen zum griechischen Schisma (1053-54). *Hist. Jahrb.*, LX, nos. 1-2.
 EDUARD EICHMANN. Der Kaiserordo von Apamea. *Ibid.*, nos. 3-4.
 ARTHUR JEFFERY. Gregory of Tathews' "Contra Mohammedanos." *Moslem World*, July.

MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE THOUGHT

- R. W. SOUTHERN. St. Anselm and His English Pupils. *Med. and Renais. Stud.*, 1.
 JOHANNES SPÖRL. Rainald von Dassel auf dem Konzil von Reims 1148 und sein Verhältnis zu Johannes von Salisbury. *Hist. Jahrb.*, nos. 1-2.
 MARTIN GRABMANN. Die Summa de sacramentis eines deutschen Dominikanertheologen um die Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts in Clm. 22233. *Ibid.*
 MARTIN HONECKER. Die Entstehungszeit der "Docta ignorantia" des Nikolaus von Cues. *Ibid.*

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

- PAN S. CODELLAS. The Pantocrator, the Imperial Byzantine Medical Center of XIIth Century A.D. in Constantinople. *Bull. Hist. Med.*, July.
 LYNN THORNDIKE. Other Astronomical Tables Beginning in the Year 1361. *Isis*, Summer.
Id. Duhem's "Disciple of Bacon" Identified with John Peckham. *Ibid.*
 H. P. J. RENAUD. Quelques constructeurs d'astrolabes en occident musulman. *Ibid.*
 E. V. PROSTOV. Early Mentions of Fossil Fishes [by al-Birūnī]. *Ibid.*
 GEORGE SARTON. The Sources of Joos van Ghisele's Voyage to the East (1481-85). *Ibid.*
 LYNN THORNDIKE and PEARL KIBRE. More Incipits of Mediaeval Scientific Writings in Latin. *Speculum*, July.

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

- MAX BUCHNER. Entstehungszeit und Verfasser der "Vita hludovici" des Astronomen. *Hist. Jahrb.*, LX, nos. 1-2.
 COLIN A. GRESHAM. The Book of Ancirim. *Antiquity*, Sept.
 KENNETH JACKSON. The Adventure of Laeghaire Mac Crimhthainn. *Speculum*, July.
 KARL VOSSLER. Die Entstehung romanischer Dichtungsformen. *Hist. Jahrb.*, LX, nos. 3-4.
 WERNER PEISER. Aristotelianism and Thomism in Romanic Literature. *New Scholasticism*, Oct.
 MINNIE E. WELLS. The Structural Development of the South English Legendary. *Jour. Eng. and Ger. Philol.*, July.
 CHARLTON LAIRD. Five New Gretham Sermons and the Middle English *Mirrur*. *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, Sept.
 HALDEEN BRADY. The Genre of Chaucer's *Squire's Tale*. *Jour. Eng. and Ger. Philol.*, July.
 LAURA HIBBARD LOOMIS. The Auchinleck Manuscript and a Possible London Bookshop of 1330-1340. *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, Sept.
 SAMUEL A. IVES. A Rhymed Latin Poem on the Seven Arts. *Speculum*, July.
 PAUL LEHMANN. Dr. Johannes Tröster, ein humanistisch gesinnter Wohltäter bayrischer Büchersammlungen. *Hist. Jahrb.*, LX, nos. 1-2.

ART, ARCHAEOLOGY, AND MUSIC

- HILDA R. ELLIS. Sigurd in the Art of the Viking Age. *Antiquity*, Sept.
 HANS JANTZEN. Das Wort als Bild in der frühmittelalterlichen Buchmalerei. *Hist. Jahrb.*, LX, nos. 1-2.
 W. L. HILDBURGH. Varieties of Circumstantial Evidence in the Study of Mediaeval Enameling. *Speculum*, July.
 HARALD KELLER. Das Geschichtsbewusstsein des deutschen Humanismus und die bildende Kunst. *Ibid.*
 HANS NATHAN. The Function of Text in French 13th-Century Motets. *Musical Quar.*, Oct.

Modern European History

BRITISH EMPIRE

F. H. Herrick

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF WALES: Volume I, PREHISTORIC TIMES TO 1063 A.D. By *A. H. Williams*. (Cardiff, University of Wales Press Board; New York, Oxford University Press, 1941, pp. 192, \$1.75.) This little book is a very fine introductory guide to the early and medieval period of Welsh history, and as such should prove of invaluable worth to all medievalists and others interested in the history of the least well known of the four peoples of the British Isles. The author has attempted with considerable success to carry the reader through the complicated maze of personalities and customs which has tended to make early Welsh history so confusing for both the historian and the layman alike. Dr. Williams lays no claim to his having brought forth an original piece of research. Instead, he has attempted to give within a very short compass the essentials of Welsh history from the earliest beginnings to the period of the Norman Conquest as revealed by the most recent findings of contemporary archaeologists and historians. The book is interestingly illustrated with charts, maps, and photographs. It is to be hoped that the present difficulties will not seriously delay the publication of the succeeding volumes, which will carry on the story of Welsh history to the present day.

EDWARD GEORGE HARTMANN

AN ECONOMIC HISTORY OF ENGLAND. By *Frederick C. Dietz*, University of Illinois. (New York, Holt, 1942, pp. xii, 616, \$3.00.) Professor Dietz has more than fulfilled his modestly stated purpose of providing American students with a text "for the study of English economic history . . . written in the American idiom." He has actually produced a volume which, without seeming too long or too crowded, surveys the whole field, from Roman Britain to the current problems of war, with an amazing degree of thoroughness and detail. One of its chief virtues lies indeed in the skillful incorporation of the results of much recent scholarly investigation, thereby greatly reducing the lag usual between textbooks and the advancing front of scholarship. Even the lists of "Suggested Books for Further Reading," appended to the various chapters, have a comprehensiveness which far transcends their avowed purpose and utility for the student. The Tudor and Stuart periods receive especially full treatment, which emphasizes the main theme of the continuity of economic evolution, by contrast with the thesis of revolution. The secular trends of economic progress since the Middle Ages are presented realistically within the framework of recurring business fluctuations. The maze of recent English economic history, particularly since the first World War, becomes an orderly mosaic by building it around Britain's central problem and predicament of maintaining profitable production and of achieving better social standards in a competitive world. The faults are those characteristic of textbooks. The style suffers from the cramping effect of technical and statistical detail; occasionally it slips into careless or trite phrasing. Some of the generalizations are debatable; Peel's Bank Act of 1844, for example, was scarcely "planned economy." A few statements of fact are more obscure than inaccurate. English contributions to technology are not always differentiated clearly from those of other nations. A good map of Britain, showing economically relevant place names, would have made a useful addition to a book written expressly for American students.

SAMUEL REZNECK

TWO MISSIONS OF JACQUES DE LA BROSSE: AN ACCOUNT OF THE AFFAIRS OF SCOTLAND IN THE YEAR 1543 AND THE JOURNAL OF THE SIEGE OF LEITH, 1560. Edited by *Gladys Dickinson*. [Publications of the Scottish History Society, Third Series, Volume XXXVI.] (Edinburgh, printed at the University Press by T. and A. Constable for the Scottish History Society, 1942, pp. xi, 188, 12.)

THE LAW OF PROPERTY IN SHAKESPEARE AND THE ELIZABETHAN DRAMA. By *Paul S. Clarkson* and *Clyde T. Warren*. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1942, pp. xxvii, 346, \$3.50.)

THE ROCHESTER-SAVILE LETTERS, 1671-1680. Edited by *John Harold Wilson*, Associate Professor of English, the Ohio State University. [Graduate School Studies, Contributions in Languages and Literature, No. 8.] (Columbus, Ohio State University Press, 1941, pp. ix, 127, \$1.75.) We have heard a good deal recently about John Wilmot, second earl of Rochester. This gay, brilliant, and unhappy figure, the product of an age of transition, seems to awaken some affinity in the modern mind, and in the last few years he has been the subject of quite a number of biographies and studies. In this volume Mr. Wilson presents the text of the complete remaining correspondence between Rochester and his close friend Henry Savile. There are thirty-three letters in all, nineteen from Rochester and fourteen from Savile. All of them have been printed before, but, as Mr. Wilson points out, they have never before been gathered into a single volume with a well-established text and an adequate commentary. That fact is the excuse for this new edition of material already published. Mr. Wilson seems to have used the best available texts, manuscript or otherwise, with the exception that he has apparently not seen the eleven manuscript Savile letters found among the Harley Papers at Longleat, Wiltshire; for these he has followed the report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission. In reprinting the correspondence Mr. Wilson has retained the original spelling, punctuation, and capitalization, which is perhaps not in conformity with the best modern practice. Apart from this, he has done a very good job of editing. The Rochester-Savile letters are so full of allusions to forgotten persons and events that they are almost incomprehensible today without an elaborate commentary. Mr. Wilson gives us a biographical and historical introduction and detailed notes on the individual letters, all of which take up more than half the volume. Presented in this form the correspondence tells a consecutive though necessarily incomplete story and makes pleasant and easy reading. WILLIAM O. AYDELOTTE

GUINEA'S CAPTIVE KINGS: BRITISH ANTI-SLAVERY LITERATURE OF THE XVIIITH CENTURY. By *Wylie Sypher*. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1942, pp. x, 340, \$3.00.) This study of a leading type of eighteenth century British reform literature suffers from lack of historical perspective. The drive against the British slave trade is incorrectly termed the earliest instance of modern propaganda. No attention whatsoever is paid to the rise of humanitarian sentiment in the United Kingdom and, in lieu of being placed in its proper setting as merely one aspect of a large movement embracing many unrelated objectives, the abolitionist campaign is viewed as a unique social phenomenon of the day. Lack of acquaintance with recent studies on the slave trade leads the author astray in painting "the horrors of the Middle Passage"—blacks were valuable cargo and were not, as alleged, "ordinarily carried in holds with decks three feet apart" or "laid side by side, chained." The author's failure to employ the library facilities of Washington, New York, and England has likewise caused him to miss numerous works which he could have used to good advantage, whereas lack of familiarity with counterpropaganda activities carried on

by the West India interest, long known to students of Caribbean history, badly distorts his narrative. Within these rather severe limitations, Professor Sypher has produced a well-written book that will be of interest to students of European expansion and modern humanitarianism as well as to students of English literature. His title, bringing the doctrine of "the noble Negro" into focus, is well chosen. His treatment of antislavery verse, drama, and fiction makes sprightly reading. A broader outlook and wider research might well have resulted in a definitive volume. Specialists in any period of English history are expected, as a matter of course, to become thoroughly familiar with the literature of the era and pertinent monographs bearing on it. Surely, then, it is not unreasonable to expect specialists in any phase of English literature to be thoroughly conversant with the history of the time, since the two are so closely interrelated.

LOWELL RAGATZ

REPORT ON THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD POLWARTH, C. B. E., FORMERLY PRESERVED AT MERTOUN HOUSE, BERWICKSHIRE, AND NOW IN H. M. GENERAL REGISTER HOUSE, EDINBURGH. Volume IV. Edited by the Rev. *Henry Paton*. [Historical Manuscripts Commission, 67.] (London, H. M. Stationery Office; New York, British Library of Information, 1942, pp. liv, 366, \$2.90.) "This volume continues the diplomatic correspondence of Alexander Lord Polwarth from the beginning of 1724 to the end of September 1725. It deals principally with the Congress of Cambrai and with those negotiations between Spain and the Emperor which took place elsewhere. . . . The proceedings of the Congress, and the part played by the British ambassadors, must be understood in relation to the general diplomatic background, which is not fully depicted in these papers. The accession of Robert Walpole as Prime Minister, and the replacement of Carteret by Newcastle as Foreign Secretary, inaugurated an important change in British foreign policy. Close co-operation with France now became the rule, and in the affairs of the Congress this co-operation was carried to the point of subservience." The correspondence of Horace Walpole, newly appointed minister to France, is of interest. He had much with his brother, the new prime minister.

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE BRITISH PARLIAMENTS RESPECTING NORTH AMERICA. Edited by *Leo Francis Stock*. Volume V, 1739-1754. (Washington, Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1941, pp. xxv, 658, \$4.00, paper \$3.50.) Again, all students of American colonial history are indebted to Professor Stock, who collected and edited the materials for the preceding four volumes of the *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments Respecting North America*. The same careful workmanship, the same clear understanding of the relative value of the sources upon which he was forced to rely, that characterize the earlier volumes are in evidence in the volume now under review. This covers the period from the session of November 15, 1739, of the eighth parliament of Great Britain to the session ending on April 6, 1754, of the tenth parliament; it also includes the parliament of Ireland from the session which began October 9, 1739, to the session that ended on January 15, 1754. This period of fifteen years includes the naval war with Spain, the War of the Austrian Succession, better known in American history as King George's War, the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, the vain efforts to stabilize the peace through the work of the Anglo-French commission sitting in Paris between the years 1750 and 1754, and the growing tension of international rivalry in North America. However, such questions as the regulation of the New England currency, the restriction upon the production and manufacture of American iron and steel, the reorganization of the African slave trade, the transportation of felons to the New World from Great Britain and Ireland, the support of the weak colonies of Georgia and Nova Scotia, and the plight

of the British sugar islands are also particularly stressed in the debates and proceedings of parliament. These also show how the trade and navigation system sometimes gave to colonial shipowners and exporters a great advantage over their trade rivals in England—for example, in the export of wheat to the Iberian Peninsula and to the Mediterranean.

LAWRENCE HENRY GIPSON

ANTICIPATION. By *Richard Tickell*. Reprinted from the First Edition, London, 1778, with an Introduction, Notes, & a Bibliography of Tickell's Writings by *L. H. Butterfield*. (New York, King's Crown Press, 1942, pp. xi, 97, \$1.50.) "This is the first reprint since 1822 of a political and literary satire that was first published in London in 1778. Written with the approval and perhaps with the aid of Lord North, *Anticipation* is a mimic version, published three days before Parliament met, of the first day's debate in the House of Commons in the session of 1778-79. The topics of debate all bear directly on the war in America, then at a critical stage. Though a Tory pamphleteer, Tickell distributes his satire among speakers on both sides of the House, and the result is a witty parody on parliamentary oratory that delighted readers of all parties, from Gibbon and Dr. Johnson to Fox and Burke. As a picture of an embattled House of Commons during the American Revolution, *Anticipation* retains historical interest, and its wit, too, is still alive."

THE HISTORICAL REGISTER OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE. Supplement, 1931-40. (New York, Macmillan, 1942, pp. 661, \$4.50.)

TRANSACTIONS OF THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Fourth Series, Volume XXIV. (London, Royal Historical Society, 1942, pp. vii, 201.) In addition to the presidential address by Professor F. M. Stenton, entitled "The Historical Bearing of Place-Name Studies: The Danish Settlement of Eastern England," the following papers are included in this volume: "Archbishop Wulfstan, Homilist and Statesman," by D. Whitelock; "The Origin of Impeachment," by T. F. T. Plucknett; "The *Regimen Scaccarii* in English Monasteries," by R. A. L. Smith; and "The Attitude of Whitgift and Bancroft to the Scottish Church," by Gordon Donaldson.

THE PENGUIN HANSARD. Volume IV, THE SECOND WINTER. (New York, Penguin Books, 1942, pp. 287, 25 cents.)

REPORT OF THE CANADIAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, 1940-1941. (Ottawa, the Association, 1942, pp. 107, 85.) The work includes the following papers: "Three Hundred Years in Quebec, 1639-1941," by the Rev. Mother M. St. James; "Some Problems of Church and State in Canada and Ireland, 1790 to 1815," by D. J. McDougall; "The Right Rev. Edmund Burke, D. D., 'Apostle of Upper Canada,' Bishop of Zion, First Vicar Apostolic of Nova Scotia: 1753-1820," by the Rev. Brother Alfred; "Laurence Kavanagh," by the Rev. D. J. Rankin; "Catholic Pioneers of Tyendinaga and Neighboring Townships," by Clara McFerran; "A Distinguished Son of Huron County, the Rev. Stephen Eckert, O. M. Cap.," by Thomas S. Melady; "Saint-Sulpice et la hiérarchie de l'Ontario," by Olivier Maurault; "Soixante-et-quinze ans de vie catholique et française en Ontario," by Gustave Lacasse; "Napoléon et l'Église," by Georges Simard; "Situation politique de l'Église Canadienne sous le régime français," by Gustave Lanctot; "Le grand vicaire Dufresne," by Dolor Biron; and "Pierre Girard," by Louis-C. O'Neil.

CANADA, TODAY AND TOMORROW. By *William Henry Chamberlin*. [Atlantic Monthly Press Book.] (Boston, Little, Brown, 1942, pp. 344, \$3.00.) "A survey and appraisal of modern Canada—its war effort, its personalities, politics, and economics, and some tentative suggestions as to the probable Canadian future."

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FRANCE

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THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION IN CREATIVE FRENCH LITERATURE (1775-1937). By *Gilbert Malcolm Fess*, Associate Professor of French. [The University of Missouri Studies, Vol. XVI, No. 2.] (Columbia, University of Missouri, 1941, pp. 119, \$1.25.)

LIGHT BEFORE DUSK: A RUSSIAN CATHOLIC IN FRANCE, 1923-1941. By *Hélène Iswolsky*. Foreword by Jacques Maritain. [Golden Measure Books.] (New York, Longmans, Green, 1942, pp. 262, \$2.50.)

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NORTHERN EUROPE

O. J. Falnes

NORWAY AND THE WAR. By *G. M. Gathorne-Hardy*. (London, Oxford University Press, 1941, pp. 32.)

NORWAY'S TEACHERS STAND FIRM. (Washington, Royal Norwegian Government's Press Representatives, 1942, pp. 32, 10 cents.) Includes excerpts from several documents bearing on the effort of the Quisling regime to co-ordinate the teachers.

NORGES NÄRINGS LIV UNDER OCKUPATIONEN. By *Otto Chr. Malterud*. (Stockholm, Kooperativa Förbundets Bokförlag, 1942, pp. 159.)

ODDS AGAINST NORWAY. By *E. Hauge*. (London, Lindsay Drummond, 1941, pp. 218.) A participant in the Norwegian War describes the reactions of Norwegians to the invasion.

NORWAY, NORWEGIAN SHIPPING, AND THE WAR. By *Öivind Lorentzen*. [America in a World at War, No. 25.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1942, pp. 32, 10 cents.)

NORGE UNDER OCKUPATIONEN. By *Arne Björnberg*. (Stockholm, Kooperativa Förbundets Bokförlag, 1942, 3.25 kr.)

DENMARK: HITLER'S "MODEL PROTECTORATE." By *Sten Gudme*. (London, Gollancz, 1942, pp. 165, 8s. 6d.)

DANMARKS ØDE EFTER 9. APRIL. By *Niels Ebbesen* [pseud.]. (Stockholm, Natur och Kultur, 1942, pp. 159.) This account, by a Danish newspaper man, is the first clear portrayal of developments in Denmark since the occupation. Particularly effective are the brief characterizations of individual collaborationists, appeasers, "wavering" individuals, and out-and-out Danish Nazis.

THE GOVERNMENT OF LABOR RELATIONS IN SWEDEN. By *James J. Robbins*, Dean of the Graduate Division, School of Social Sciences & Public Affairs, the American University. [American Scandinavian Foundation.] (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1942, pp. xii, 367, \$3.50.) "This study of the Swedish Labor Court examines in some detail the cases decided by the Court."

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GERMANY, SWITZERLAND, AND HUNGARY

Ernst Posner

THUS SPEAKS GERMANY. Foreword by *Hamilton Fish Armstrong*. Edited by *W. W. Coole* and *M. F. Potter*. (New York, Harper, 1941, pp. xix, 412, \$3.50.)

NAZI GUIDE TO NAZISM. Edited by *Rolf Tell*. (Washington, American Council on Public Affairs, 1942, pp. 191, cloth \$2.00, paper \$1.00.) Again as in the last war the Germans are faced with carefully documented utterances out of their own mouths. It is easy to say in answer that such compilations could be made from the utterances of jingoes and demagogues among any people. But they would be just such, whereas these reiterations of the philosophy of might is right come each successive generation among the Germans and are uttered, however fantastic they seem, by men honored in Germany and sometimes abroad for what they have done in a dozen fields of thought and action. When the Germans choose or accept and follow leaders who underline their repulsive doctrines with the blood and tears of ravished neighbors, it is difficult, even with the best will in the world, not to see the Germans as they see themselves, a

peculiar, a special people but one whose specialty and peculiarity derives from uneradicated barbarian paganism. These documented volumes take up the theme in the same scholarly way in which it was treated in the American war pamphlet *Conquest and Kultur* (1918). *Thus Speaks Germany* repeats some of the same material but adds many earlier and, of course, many later utterances, for the audible voices of Hitler Germany are a supporting chorus for *Mein Kampf* yet the tune goes back of even the earliest dated utterances in the Armstrong volume. The small volume edited by Tell and first printed in England confines itself, as its title indicates, to the harpies who are now picking the bones of conquered nations.

GEOPOLITICS: THE STRUGGLE FOR SPACE AND POWER. By *Robert Strausz-Hupé*. (New York, Putnam, 1942, pp. 287, \$2.75.)

MÉMOIRES ET DOCUMENTS PUBLIÉS PAR LA SOCIÉTÉ D'HISTOIRE ET D'ARCHÉOLOGIE DE GENÈVE. Volume XXXVII, LES ANNALISTES GÉNOVOIS DU DÉBUT DU DIX-SEPTIÈME SIÈCLE, SAVION, PIAGET, PERRIN: ÉTUDES ET TEXTES. By *Paul-F. Geisendorf*. (Geneva, A. Jullien, Georg & Co, 1942, pp. 720.)

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ITALY

Gaudens Megaro

THE HISTORY OF THE POPES, FROM THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES.
 By *Ludwig von Pastor*. Volumes XXXIII-XXXIV, CLEMENT XI TO CLEMENT XII
 (A. D. 1700-1740). Translated from the German and edited by *Dom Graf*. (St. Louis,
 B. Herder, 1942, pp. 1198, \$5.00, each.)

WE HAVE A POPE: THE LIFE OF POPE PIUS XII. By Rev. *Charles Hugo Doyle*.
 (Paterson, St. Anthony Guild Press, 1942, pp. 126, \$1.00.)

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 CARLO PETRONE. Italian Opinion and Fascist Policy in the Balkans. *Central European Observer*, Apr. 17.
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RUSSIA AND POLAND

Avrahm Yarmolinsky

SIRIŠKIE ISTOCHNIKI PO ISTORII NARODOV SSSR [Syrian sources for the history of the peoples of the U.S.S.R.]. By *N. Pigulevskaya*. (Moscow-Leningrad, Izdatelstvo Akademii nauk SSSR, 1941, pp. 171, 8.50 r.) Issued under the auspices of the Oriental Institute attached to the Academy of Sciences, this work opens with an analysis of the Syrian chronicles of the fifth to seventh centuries, relating to the following three subjects: the Central Asiatic and Caspian regions in the fifth and sixth centuries, the Caucasus, Avars and Slavs. The lengthy study is followed by a Russian translation of the History by John of Ephesus (*ca.* 507-86) and of a part of the so-called Chronicle of Zechariah of Mytilene, known as the Rhetor (flourished in the first half of the sixth century).
 AVRAHM YARMOLINSKY

THE NEW ORDER IN POLAND. By *Simon Segal*. With an Introduction by Raymond Leslie Buell. (New York, Knopf, 1942, pp. viii, 286, x, \$3.00.)

THE BLACK BOOK OF POLAND. (New York, Putnam, 1942, pp. 629, \$3.00.) "A detailed account, with documentary proof, of the working of the 'New Order' in Poland from September, 1939, to June, 1941."

RASPUTIN, NEITHER DEVIL NOR SAINT. By *Elizabeth Judas*. (Los Angeles, Wetzell, 1942, pp. 283, \$2.50.)

LENIN ON THE AGRARIAN QUESTION. By *Anna Rochester*. (New York, International Publishers, 1942, pp. 224, \$2.50.) "This study sketches briefly the background

of Lenin's agrarian work and traces chronologically, from his own writings, the course of Lenin's thinking on such questions."

SOVIET ASIA: DEMOCRACY'S FIRST LINE OF DEFENSE. By *Raymond Arthur Davies* and *Andrew J. Steiger*. (New York, Dial Press, 1942, pp. 384, \$3.00.) "Two journalists attempt to give Americans the facts of vital interest about Soviet Asia. A great many quotations from Joseph Stalin's speeches are used."

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- S. V. BAKHRUSHIN. Promyslovye predpriyatiya russkikh torgovykh lyudei v XVII v. [the industrial enterprises of Russian merchants in the 17th century]. *Ibid.*
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Far Eastern History

E. H. Pritchard

THE FOUNDING OF THE T'ANG DYNASTY, THE FALL OF SUI AND RISE OF T'ANG: A PRELIMINARY SURVEY. By *Woodbridge Bingham*, Assistant Professor of Far Eastern History, University of California. [American Council of Learned Societies, Studies in Chinese and Related Civilizations, Number 4.] (Baltimore, Waverly Press, 1941, pp. xiii, 183, \$3.50.) In this work, the first volume of a projected series of four devoted to the founding of the T'ang dynasty, the author sets himself the task of determining the chronological sequence of events occurring in China during the concluding years of the Sui dynasty and the establishment of the T'ang dynasty. He bases his research largely on the four Dynastic Histories covering the period and makes extensive use of other relevant Chinese materials. After an account of the life and times of the last Sui emperor, in which especial attention is paid to the internal politics and economics and the foreign relations of the Sui empire, the author discusses the internal collapse of the Sui and the ensuing political upheavals. He next takes up the rise to power of the Li family, which culminated in A.D. 618, when Li Yuan was enthroned as first emperor of the T'ang dynasty. His conclusions are summarized in the final chapter. The six appendixes include valuable accounts of the uprisings taking place between A.D. 613 and 617, translated from the *Sui-shu* and the *T'ang-shu*. There is an eclectic, annotated bibliography and three folding maps, one of

the Sui empire and two showing the incidence of banditry and rebellion at the end of the Sui. It is no exaggeration to say that Dr. Bingham's work is one of the outstanding contributions of American Sinology. Here for the first time in any language we have assembled a carefully detailed account of China's political development through a period of dynastic change. While the author may be criticized for attributing to personalities and to political factors a causal significance in the change from Sui to T'ang which they do not possess, nevertheless, in his emphasis on political factors he provides a framework of names, dates, and trends against which it is possible to perceive the operation of societal and economic factors in their proper perspectives. Aside from this point, the reviewer has but little fault to find. Where Dr. Bingham's translations were checked, they proved meticulously correct. His bibliography omits the relevant research by modern Chinese scholars, but we may expect him to take care of this in the more extended bibliography which he promises to include in one of the later volumes in the series.

F. D. SCHULTHEIS

ORIGIN OF THE FAR EASTERN CIVILIZATIONS: A BRIEF HANDBOOK. By *Carl Whiting Bishop*. [Smithsonian Institution War Background Studies, No. 1.] (Washington, Smithsonian Institution, 1942, pp. 53, apply.)

STRATEGY AT SINGAPORE. By *Eugene H. Miller*. With an Introduction by Captain W. D. Puleston. [A Study of the American Council on Public Affairs.] (New York, Macmillan, 1942, pp. viii, 145, \$2.50.) A clear, concise, comprehensive, and well-documented account is given in this book of how Singapore developed into a great naval base during the 1920's and 1930's. Technical considerations are not omitted, but essentially this is a book for laymen interested in historical analysis. The author is concerned primarily with the stress and strain of international politics acting and reacting on domestic politics in England and in the dominions, now advancing, now retarding, the fortification of Singapore. From 1923 to 1938, the date of its completion, the Singapore base was a lively subject for discussion in all the British world. The opposition based its arguments mainly on two grounds—expense and political consistency. The admiralty asked for ten million pounds, but the opposition said it would ultimately cost far more and to spend this at a time when Britain was just beginning to recover from the first World War was absurd. What would not such a sum do in clearing slums and in building schools? Furthermore, was it consistent for England to talk peace, praise the League of Nations, sign the Briand-Kellogg Pact, and at the same time prepare ostensibly for war? To fortify Singapore would anger Japan and instantly undo the good work done by the Washington Conference in amicably settling the Far Eastern Question; to do so would not violate England's pledged word but would violate the spirit of the Washington settlement. Arguments for the other side were equally cogent; the Anglo-Japanese Treaty had not been renewed, the base would result in ultimate naval economy, it would please Australia and New Zealand, it would be insurance against future disaster, it would provide a well-rounded strategic defense of imperial trade routes. The book may be heartily recommended, with the exception of the last chapter, "Setback at Singapore," which is a *mélange* of various naval and political facts and surmises of little use in explaining why this strongly fortified outpost of empire fell so speedily to the Japanese.

WALTER P. HALL

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United States History

E. C. Burnett

GENERAL

- A DIPLOMATIC HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. By *Thomas A. Bailey*, Stanford University. [Crofts American History Series, Dixon Ryan Fox, General Editor.] Second edition. (New York, F. S. Crofts, 1942, pp. xxvi, 864, \$4.25.) For a review of the first edition see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLVI, 675. The present edition, besides the usual corrections and attention to new material in text and bibliography, includes two new chapters on America's entrance into the second World War.
- A DIPLOMATIC HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. By *Samuel Flagg Bemis*, Farnam Professor of Diplomatic History in Yale University. Revised edition. (New York, Henry Holt, 1942, pp. viii, 934, \$4.00.) (See *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLIII, 780-82.) In his preface the author says: "Without altering its content or its character, I have revised and corrected the body of the work and added chapters to bring it up to January 1, 1942, that is, to Pearl Harbor and the United Nations, leaving the Conclusion to Time, the Great Expositor."
- A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. By *Allan Nevins*. With Foreword by John G. Winant. (London, Oxford University Press, 1942, pp. 144, 3s. 6d.) "A concise history of the growth and development of the United States, written especially for the British people."

HORSE SENSE IN AMERICAN HUMOR, FROM BENJAMIN FRANKLIN TO OGDEN NASH. By *Walter Blair*, the University of Chicago. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1942, pp. xv, 341, \$2.75.) This is a serious, detailed study of a specific aspect of American humor in relation to political and social life. The author's principal thesis is that a main reason for the influence of American humor is its close relation to the common-sense, utilitarian philosophy which has been dominant in the United States. Much of this has been voiced by fictional "fool characters" combining simple-mindedness and occasional native shrewdness or by similar characters assumed by the humorists themselves. The early Poor Richard, the mythical side of Davy Crockett, Jack Downing, Petroleum V. Nasby, and Abe Martin are examples of the first; Artemus Ward, Josh Billings, and Will Rogers, in varying degree, of the second or of both. The more detailed discussions are confined to the better-known or once better-known humorous characters. There are brief comments on and mention of many minor humorists. Other citations give evidence of the author's wide reading in political and social history and periodical literature as well as in humor. Some of his conclusions may not seem entirely conclusive, and the critical comments may at times seem influenced by the partisan character of the writers discussed. He has nevertheless cleared a path through much forgotten territory for those interested in further reading in it. Dr. Blair admits that the influence of the "fool character" and the writer "purveying homespun wisdom" is apparently declining, but he assembles evidence drawn from present-day columnists and cartoonists, syndicated and otherwise, to indicate that the apparent decline may be temporary or even that comic characters much like those of earlier days are so numerous that no one stands out prominently. The study as a whole indicates the value of contemporary humor to the social historian and the student and writer of literary history. The chief merit of the book is in its introductory detailed data rather than in any definitive conclusion reached.

FRANK K. WALTER

TRAVELS IN NEW FRANCE BY J. C. B. Prepared by Pennsylvania Historical Survey (Frontier Forts and Trails Survey), Division of Community Service Projects, Work Projects Administration. Edited by *Sylvester K. Stevens*, *Donald H. Kent*, and *Emma Edith Woods*. (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Historical Commission, 1941, pp. xiv, 167, 75 cents.) J. C. B. was an unidentified French soldier who spent the decade 1751-61 in the New World and who participated in the French and Indian War. His position as commissary at Fort Duquesne and later as secretary to a distinguished officer gave him considerable leisure, and an inquiring turn of mind, coupled with a lively interest in affairs, led him to keep a record of events. This formed the basis of the present narrative, written in the quiet of his parental home after his return to Paris. Friends urged him to publish his manuscript and he hoped to do so, but arrangements had not yet been completed when the Revolution broke out and weightier matters took precedence. Two copies happily survived, one in the Bibliothèque nationale and one in private hands, and in 1887, after a century of neglect, the book was at length brought out in Quebec under the title *Voyage au Canada, dans le nord de l'Amérique septentrionale, fait depuis l'an 1751 à 1761*. It attracted considerable favorable attention at the time, but a limited edition materially restricted its usefulness. This English translation consequently forms a welcome addition to the scant literature of Anglo-French rivalry in the Americas. The author's attempt at a history of the war led him into many inaccuracies and errors. But he is in his element in narrating personal experiences, and his penetrating observations enable one to reconstruct frontier life and border warfare in picturesque detail. He was taken captive in the fall of Fort Levis in 1760 and was ultimately removed to New York City, where he

enjoyed the run of the metropolis for three months before being sent back to France under an exchange agreement. It is interesting to note that one fifth of the common soldiers taken prisoner with him preferred to remain in America and to begin life anew under the British flag.

LOWELL RAGATZ

WASHINGTON AND KOSCIUSZKO. By *Ladislaus M. Kozłowski*. [Annals, Volume VII.] (Chicago, Polish Roman Catholic Union of America, 1942, pp. 61, 50 cents.) A brief study of Kosciuszko's part in the American Revolution and his relations to the commander in chief. Includes a number of Washington's letters to Kosciuszko and a few from Kosciuszko to Washington.

THE NAVAL GENIUS OF GEORGE WASHINGTON. By Captain *Dudley Wright Knox*. Foreword by Admiral Hilary P. Jones. New edition. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1942, pp. 137, \$3.00.)

THOMAS JEFFERSON, WORLD CITIZEN. By Senator *Elbert D. Thomas*. (New York, Modern Age Books, 1942, pp. viii, 280, \$2.75.) Senator Thomas' book is a tract for the times. In the introduction he states its thesis as follows: "that there has been much more unity in world affairs than most people realize; that some concepts, in their very nature, must be meant for universal application; that Jeffersonian Democracy is such a concept; and that Jefferson's interests were world-wide and not particular." If this thesis be accepted, he adds, another will follow: "that democracy is essential to world unity." The last chapters, dealing with foreign affairs, are directed against the isolationists. Here, as elsewhere, the author seeks to penetrate to the essential thought and spirit of Jefferson, without being distracted by particularistic utterances which are meaningless outside of their historical setting, and, in the opinion of this reviewer, he shows discernment and sound judgment. The other chapters are devoted to various aspects of the Jeffersonian philosophy which the senator rightly regards not as a body of rigid maxims but as a living faith. In presenting his interpretation of the mind of this patron saint of free democracy, he makes no parade of erudition. He draws his quotations primarily from Foley's *Jeffersonian Cyclopedia*, and, for historical purposes, he draws on James Truslow Adams, Francis W. Hirst, Gilbert Chinard, and other recent biographers. He does not mention Carl Becker, Henry Adams, or Charles A. Beard, and obviously he has made no effort to survey the vast body of monographic literature. This book is an interpretation of Jefferson's words and spirit by a thoughtful public servant, who has found in them hope for a confused and war-torn world. Scholars may or may not need it but some other people, doubtless, still do.

DUMAS MALONE

PARTIES IN THE UNITED STATES. By *John Quincy Adams*. Foreword by Charles True Adams. (New York, Greenberg, 1941, pp. vii, 136, \$5.00.) This book is something of an antiquarian curiosity. It was written more than a hundred years ago, but the manuscript was never sent to the printer, nor was it included in the published writings of the author as dutifully edited by his son, Charles Francis Adams. A second copy of the manuscript, now published for the first time, is said to repose in the mausoleum of the Adams Papers on indefinite deposit with the Massachusetts Historical Society. One of two reasons, or both, may have led Charles Francis Adams to suppress this manuscript: in the first place, it was never finished; and secondly, the opinions of John Quincy Adams as to the character and conduct of Alexander Hamilton and Timothy Pickering may have seemed too indiscreetly direct for the editorial conscience of sixty years ago. Mr. Charles True Adams offers this production with a short foreword containing two statements which impartial students of the famous

Memoirs of the sixth President will be inclined to question—the second, to be sure, is quoted from an unnamed correspondent. It would be difficult to prove that John Quincy Adams lacked “bias” because of “the direct personal impact of [his] contemporaries upon [him].” Fascinating as his diary is, not many careful readers of it would wish to assert that “few have or ever had the temerity to question J.Q.’s statements.” John Quincy Adams, with all his virtue, was often harsh on his political allies and not infrequently inaccurate in regard to his enemies. Yet his verdict in regard to Hamilton and Pickering is likely to stand the test of time. This book is the outline of the rise and fall of the Federalist party. It is a scathing sketch of the blind stupidity which made a demon of Jefferson, called the Hartford Convention, and drove good nationalists like J. Q. Adams into the arms of the “Republicans.” One observation may be of interest: in declaring that Jefferson always thought of commerce as the handmaid of agriculture, Adams laid his finger on the weakness of Jefferson’s political system. The latter’s lifelong failure to face the fact of the Industrial Revolution made Jeffersonian Democracy a myth, even before the rise of Andrew Jackson.

STEWART MITCHELL

THE TRAGIC CAREER OF COMMODORE JAMES BARRON, U. S. NAVY (1769-1851). By *Paul Barron Watson*. (New York, Coward-McCann, 1942, pp. 92, \$1.50.)

HISTORY OF AGRICULTURE IN THE SOUTHERN UNITED STATES TO 1860. By *Lewis Cecil Gray*, assisted by *Esther Katherine Thompson*. With an Introductory Note by Henry Charles Taylor. Two volumes. [Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publication No. 430; reprint edition.] (New York, Peter Smith, 1941, pp. xix, 567; ix, 568-1086, \$15.00.) These volumes appeared originally in 1933 (see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIX, 345).

HISTORY OF AGRICULTURE IN THE NORTHERN UNITED STATES, 1620-1860. By *Percy Wells Bidwell*, Economist, United States Tariff Commission, Formerly Assistant Professor of Economics, Yale University, and *John I. Falconer*, Professor of Rural Economy, Ohio State University. [Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publication No. 358; reprint edition.] (*Ibid.*, 1941, pp. xii, 512, \$7.50.) This volume appeared originally in 1925 (see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXI, 329).

TREATIES AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL ACTS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. Edited by *Hunter Miller*. Volume VI, DOCUMENTS 152-172: 1852-1855. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1942, pp. xxx, 886, \$3.25.) The reproduction of these texts continues to be as flawless as human fallibility with a printing press will allow. The importance of the collection and the superlative nature of the historical notes to the documents have been stressed in these pages with each successive volume. The chief worry of the student of our foreign relations is that the very excellence and erudition of the historical notes may delay completion of the set beyond the lifetime of the irreplaceable editor, even if he rounds out a full century of active life, which we wish for him for still other reasons than advancing this matchless edition of treaties and other international acts of the United States! Accompanying the volume is a mimeographed press release (No. 312 of June 23, 1942), presumably submitted to the editor if not actually prepared by him. It analyzes and describes the contents better than any reviewer could possibly do, and it is too bad space forbids its full quotation here. Of the twenty-one international acts printed, covering the period from June, 1852, to January, 1855, the most notable document is Perry’s Treaty with Japan of March 31, 1854. Other outstanding texts are Gadsden’s Treaty of 1853 with Mexico and the Canadian Reciprocity Treaty of June 5, 1854. Five agreements in

Volume VI have not been previously printed in the United States treaty collections. There are two important maps prepared by the office of the geographer of the department, one illustrating the river system of the Rio de la Plata and the other illustrating proposed amended boundary clauses of the Gadsden Treaty, as brought up successively in the Senate. A third map, in the rear cover pocket, is the chart of Article 5 of Perry's Treaty, showing Simoda Harbor, which was appended to the treaty.

SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS

HERNDON'S LIFE OF LINCOLN. By *William Henry Herndon* and *Jesse William Weik*. Edited by *Paul M. Angle*. [Forum Books.] (Cleveland, World Publishing Company, 1942, copyright 1930, pp. 557, 89 cents.)

THE MAN WHO KILLED LINCOLN: THE STORY OF JOHN WILKES BOOTH AND HIS PART IN THE ASSASSINATION. By *Philip Van Doren Stern*. [Forum Books.] (*Ibid.*, 1942, copyright 1939, pp. 383, 89 cents.)

WILLIAM H. SYLVIS AND THE NATIONAL LABOR UNION. By *Charlotte Todes*. (New York, International Publishers, 1942, pp. 128, 75 cents.) To our age with its numerous American "labor czars" zealous in racketeering, Charlotte Todes offers, in an abbreviation of an earlier age, a picture in miniature of a pioneer American labor leader who gave all his strength of body and mind strictly to the organization of a national labor movement and died, prematurely, at forty-one, in poverty. William H. Sylvis was an artisan of native stock, an iron molder, whose public career was short, running only from 1857 to 1869. If his story, in this remarkably condensed and lucidly written little volume, is presented to readers as an "inspiring example" of militant idealism in the American labor movement, it also fills a niche in the wide and deep gap left by academic historians who have so largely neglected the history of labor leadership in this country. How shall the leadership of Sylvis be judged? The author of this biography of a man and a movement clearly states her standard of measurement. He yielded, eventually, she says, to middle-class pressure and thus was influential in diverting labor "from the main path of strengthening its economic organization and from coping with rising capitalism through class action" (p. 34). Her criterion, in short, is Marxist.

MARY R. BEARD

AMERICAN OPINION ON THE KULTURKAMPF, 1871-1882. By *Sister M. Orestes Kolbeck*, O.S.F., Holy Family Convent, Manitowoc, Wisconsin. [The Catholic University of America.] (Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1942, pp. ix, 84, \$2.00.) In view of the present conflict between church and state in Germany, this study of American opinion on the Kulturkampf is most timely. Whereas the American press of today has adopted a very hostile attitude toward Hitler's interference in church affairs, most of the commentators of the 1870's, according to Sister M. O. Kolbeck, followed Bismarck's attacks on the Catholic church with sympathetic interest. She ascribes this sympathy partly to the prevailing belief that Bismarck's harsh measures were necessary to insure the unification of Germany, partly to the religious prejudices of one predominantly Protestant nation in favor of another, and partly to the underlying fear of the growing influence of Catholicism in the United States. In general, very few attempts were made by the commentators to study both sides of the question. The Republican newspapers, as a rule, expressed greater sympathy for Bismarck's objectives than the Democratic organs, several of which made serious efforts to understand the Catholic viewpoint. While many of the former hoped to win the support of the German-Americans by their pro-German attitude, some of the latter apparently sought to hold the Catholic vote. The common enemies of the Catholic church and the

Democratic party, as a consequence, lost no time in pointing out the intimate relations supposedly existing between these two organizations. As the Kulturkampf gradually subsided, however, the American press adopted a more critical attitude toward Bismarck's actions. The chancellor's autocratic measures and frequent attacks on parliamentary institutions, together with the growing militaristic spirit of Germany, alienated large sections of the American public. Sister Orestes' study is based on a careful examination of representative newspapers and periodicals of the time. Fully realizing that the press molds as well as reflects public opinion, she exercises considerable discrimination and caution in formulating her conclusions. Perhaps the real value of her book lies in the fact that it gives a good background to the Kulturkampf, something that is not readily available in English.

RICHARD H. BAUER

THE FIRST CENTURY AND A QUARTER OF AMERICAN COAL INDUSTRY.

By *Howard N. Eavenson*. (Pittsburgh, privately printed, 1942, pp. xiv, 701, \$8.00.)

MARK TWAIN AT WORK. By *Bernard Augustine De Voto*. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1942, pp. 153, \$2.00.)

WALT WHITMAN: POET OF DEMOCRACY. By *Hugh l'Anson Fausset*. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1942, pp. 320, \$3.00.)

JOHN TORREY: A STORY OF NORTH AMERICAN BOTANY. By *Andrew Denny Rodgers III*. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1942, pp. 352, \$3.75.) "John Torrey's life in a sense epitomizes the history of botanical exploration in North America during the last century. . . . John Torrey was a pioneer taxonomic botanist in America. Torrey has always been looked upon as the spiritual father to Asa Gray, *facile princeps* of American botanists; and to a host of lesser men in botanical investigation, he was mentor and friend. The name of Torrey, linked with that of Gray, is inseparably connected with botanical exploration of the Southwestern and Western United States."

WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH. By *Dores Robinson Sharpe*. Introduction by Harry Emerson Fosdick. (New York, Macmillan, 1942, pp. 476, \$2.75.)

CHARLES HORTON COOLEY: HIS LIFE AND HIS SOCIAL THEORY. By *Edward C. Jandy*. (New York, Dryden Press, 1942, pp. 327, \$3.00.)

HISTORICAL UNITS OF AGENCIES OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR. By *Elizabeth B. Drewry*. [National Archives Bulletin, No. 4.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1942, pp. 31, 10 cents.)

WRITERS IN CRISIS: THE AMERICAN NOVEL BETWEEN TWO WARS. By *Maxwell Geismar*. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1942, pp. 308, \$3.00.)

MEMORIES AND OPINIONS. By *Horace Dutton Taft*. (New York, Macmillan, 1942, pp. 336, \$3.00.) "The autobiography of" the "founder and headmaster for almost fifty years of the Taft School in Watertown, Conn."

THE PEOPLE'S BUSINESS: THE PROGRESS OF CONSUMER COOPERATIVES IN AMERICA. By *Joshua K. Bolles*. (New York, Harper, 1942, pp. 180, \$2.00.)

TWENTY MODERN AMERICANS. By *Alice Cecilia Cooper* and *Charles A. Palmer*. (New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1942, pp. 416, \$1.32.)

A BIBLIOGRAPHY ON THE AGRICULTURE OF THE AMERICAN INDIANS. Compiled by *Everett E. Edwards* and *Wayne D. Rasmussen*. [United States Depart-

ment of Agriculture, Miscellaneous Publication No. 447.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, Superintendent of Documents, 1942, pp. 112, 15 cents.)

INDIAN RELICS AND THEIR VALUES. By *Allen Brown*. (Chicago, Lightner, 1942, pp. 109, \$1.25.)

A HISTORY OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES. By *Norma Schwendener*. (New York, A. S. Barnes, 1942, pp. 252, \$2.00.) "This history of physical education in the United States reflects the social, religious, economic, and political scene influential in each period of American life."

BIBLIOGRAPHIES IN AMERICAN HISTORY: GUIDE TO MATERIALS FOR RESEARCH. Revised edition. By *Henry Putney Beers*. (New York, H. W. Wilson, 1942, pp. xv, 487, \$4.75.) For those who are familiar with the first edition of Beers's *Bibliographies in American History* (1938), a reviewer need state only that this revision adds approximately 3,500 titles and that it follows the plan of the earlier volume except for the addition of a short section (120 titles) on cartographic bibliography. Those who are not familiar with the first edition are informed that the work lists thousands of books and articles, and even manuscript sources and card indexes, relating to the bibliography of the United States of America. Included are many works which are only secondarily bibliographical but which will lead the student to the literature of his particular subject. Titles are classified under fifteen general subjects, each of which is adequately subdivided. There is a detailed subject and author index. One who wished to be critical might point out that author, title, imprint, and pagination, to which Dr. Beers confines himself, are not always adequately descriptive and that the usefulness of this compilation would be enhanced by occasional annotations. One could also point to occasional entries of doubtful merit, and of course there are omissions. But these are very minor imperfections in a generally useful, well-organized reference book.

PAUL M. ANGLE

AMERICAN AGENCIES INTERESTED IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. Compiled by *Ruth Savord*, Librarian, Council on Foreign Relations. (New York, Council on Foreign Relations, 1942, pp. vi, 200, \$2.00.) This excellent, well-indexed guide to organizations working in the field of international affairs gives all the necessary information about their purposes and personnel, some 189 of them, and lists 186 dead, dormant, or consolidated organizations in the same field. Of those on the active list fully 50 per cent have been set up since 1933.

UNION CATALOGS IN THE UNITED STATES. Edited by *Robert Bingham Downs*. (Chicago, American Library Association, 1942, pp. 431, \$5.00.)

USING VOLUNTEERS IN THE LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S PROGRAM. By *Loring McMillen*, Director, Staten Island Historical Society. [Bulletins of the American Association for State and Local History, Volume I, Number 3.] (Washington, American Association for State and Local History, 1942, pp. 51-74.)

GUIDE TO THE MANUSCRIPTS IN THE ARCHIVES OF THE MORAVIAN CHURCH IN AMERICA, SOUTHERN PROVINCE. Prepared by the North Carolina Historical Records Survey, Division of Community Service Programs, Work Projects Administration. (Raleigh, North Carolina Historical Records Survey, 1942, pp. vii, 136, mimeographed.) "A large part of this material, 1752-92, has been translated by the archivist, Dr. Adelaide L. Fries, and published in Fries, Adelaide L., ed., *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina* (Raleigh: The North Carolina Historical

Commission, 1922-1941), 5 v. A sixth volume is in preparation. . . . The majority of the manuscripts prior to about 1856 are in German, particularly the diaries and minutes."

THE NEGRO IN THE AMERICAS. Edited by *Charles H. Wesley*, Dean of the Graduate School, Howard University. [Public Lectures of the Division of the Social Sciences of the Graduate School, Howard University, Volume I.] (Washington, the Graduate School, Howard University, 1940, pp. 86.) This little volume of eighty-six pages outlines a problem that is hemispheric in scope and so woven into the fabric of American civilization that it is characteristically part and parcel of life and culture in the Western world. Uneven in form and content as seven lectures each delivered by a different person might well be expected to be, it is still a performance generally distinguished by high merit, and some of the chapters make up for their brevity by their compactness. The lectures as printed are devoted to the following subjects: "The Negro in the British West Indies"; "Notes on the Negro in the French West Indies"; "The Negro in Spanish America"; "The Negro in Brazil"; "The Haitian Nation"; "Race, Migration, and Citizenship"; "The Negro in the United States and Canada." Obviously none of these subjects could be adequately treated in the space allotted to all of them put together—but there is enough of suggestion, insight, and perspective to make the brochure a corrective for those whose views upon the Negro problem have been shaped with reference to a single nation. The objectivity of some of the lectures is marred by a recognizable bitterness, but the factual materials compensate for the inadequacy of the temper. Some of the papers deserve special mention—notably "The Negro in Brazil" by Richard Pattee, "Race, Migration, and Citizenship" by Ira DeA Reid, and the short note on the French West Indies by Louis T. Achille—the latter especially in view of the present circumstances. To all of this praise one hesitates to add a critical note; but to say, as does Mr. Logan in his paper on the Negro in Spanish America, that "it was the Negroes who in large measure forced the Creole leaders, throughout Spanish America, to continue the struggle until independence had been assured" (p. 29) is to claim a good deal more than Latin Americans would be prepared to concede.

FRANK TANNENBAUM

AMERICAN NEGROES: A HANDBOOK. By *Edwin Rogers Embree*. (New York, John Day, 1942, pp. 79, \$1.00.) "A brief account of the Negro race's development in the New World."

HOWARD UNIVERSITY, THE CAPSTONE OF NEGRO EDUCATION: A HISTORY, 1867-1940. By *Walter Dyson*, Professor of History, Howard University. (Washington, Box 275, Graduate School, Howard University, 1941, pp. xiv, 553, \$4.00.) This volume is a souvenir of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of Howard University, which was chartered at Washington on March 2, 1867. Strange to say, when Howard opened its doors in May, 1867, its student body was composed of four white girls, daughters of white families interested in the founding of a cosmopolitan university, and its faculty was entirely white. Gradually, however, the tendency toward the separation of the races operated to reduce the attendance of white students, so that Howard has long since come to be regarded as a "Negro" university. Involving as it does the whole question of the relation of the Negro to American life, Howard University has had to travel an exceedingly rocky road. In its early days it was involved in the question of amalgamation versus segregation, in the charges of corruption laid against the Freedmen's Bureau and General O. O. Howard, in financial troubles, in internal friction, and in church politics. Not until the coming of Mordecai W. Johnson to the presidency in 1926 did Howard University begin to

adopt really sound administrative and financial policies. Incidentally, Howard has had thirteen presidents, but Mordecai W. Johnson is her first Negro president. Today the institution has a plant worth about nine million dollars, an annual federal appropriation of about \$750,000, a student body of nearly two thousand, a scholarly and distinguished faculty, and a broad educational program, including curricula in liberal arts, fine arts, graduate studies, law, medicine, religion, social work, and so forth. It has lately become in truth "the capstone of Negro education," with an ever-increasing emphasis on graduate and professional studies. Professor Dyson's book is not a definitive history of Howard University, because it leaves certain gaps in the chronology and touches only lightly some very important questions, but its thirty-six chapters represent a tremendous amount of labor and present a sampling of a great deal of source material, including a collection of documents concerning General Howard, for whom the institution was named. Professor Dyson deserves high commendation for this valuable contribution to the history of Howard University. GUY B. JOHNSON

THE SILVER DOLLARS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, WITH A SHORT SKETCH OF THE 1804 DOLLARS. By *Arthur D. McIlvaine*. [Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 95.] (New York, American Numismatic Society, 1941, pp. 35, plates XII, \$1.00.) This small pamphlet treats of the dollar from the numismatists' angle and indicates that theirs is an absorbing avocation. The congressional history of the dollar, as here briefly summarized, is mainly the familiar story; but the pamphlet makes several contributions numismatically. Probably few historians or economists have realized how the congressional silver bloc has benefited the numismatists as well as the silverites. The bloc's pressure has provided "a coin of almost unlimited possibilities as an item for collecting" (p. 24); the law they obtained in 1918 caused "a shortage in many dates that is naturally reflected in premium prices in the numismatic market" (p. 23); and the unfathomed disappearance of all but six of the 19,570 dollars coined in 1804 has brought one holder of an authentic specimen the tidy sum of \$4,250, while furnishing all collectors with a fascinating, perennial mystery. Best of all, the Bland dollar stands revealed as a work of wit; when George T. Morgan of the Mint staff drew its excellent design, he crowned Liberty with "a symbolical group of agricultural products" (p. 15), an inimitable ironic touch. Some of the artistic designs of the congressional coinage committee fail to please the eye of Mr. McIlvaine, just as the political designs of silver senators sometimes rouse dismay among economists and historians. J. P. NICHOLS

EMBLEMS OF UNITY AND FREEDOM. Foreword by *Holger Cahill*. (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1942, pp. —, 25 cents.)

THE MEDALS OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY MEDICAL DEPARTMENT AND MEDALS HONORING ARMY MEDICAL OFFICERS. By *Edgar Erskine Hume*. [Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 98.] (New York, American Numismatic Society, 1942, pp. 146, \$3.00.)

KING NEWS: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY. By *M. Koenigsberg*. (New York, F. A. Stokes, 1941, pp. 511, \$3.50.) Mr. Koenigsberg, who rose high among managers and chiefs of staff of Hearst's news and feature services, shows himself an accomplished verbalist with a dash of Horatio Alger in this story of his colorful life. His stories are entertaining; his contribution to history is the portrayal of a man who worked diligently to affect the reading habits of America by promoting thousands of comics, popular yarns, and feature articles. In that respect the book is what it purports to be, a "clinical anatomy" of an aspect of American journalism.

FISCAL PLANNING FOR TOTAL WAR. By *William Leonard Crum, John F. Fennelly, and Lawrence Howard Seltzer*. [Fiscal Policy Series, Number One.] (New York, National Bureau of Economic Research, 1942, pp. xxv, 358, \$3.00.)

SCHOOL OF THE CITIZEN SOLDIER. Adapted from the Educational Program of the Second Army, Lieutenant General Ben Lear, Commanding. Editor, *Robert A. Griffin*, Lieutenant Colonel, General Staff Corps, Assistant Editor, *Ronald M. Shaw*, Lieutenant Colonel, Cavalry. Civilian defense edition. (New York, D. Appleton-Century, 1942, pp. xvii, 558, \$2.40.)

LIBERTY AND LEARNING: THE ACTIVITIES OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION IN BEHALF OF FREEDOM OF EDUCATION. By *David Edison Bunting*. With an Introduction by Professor George S. Counts. (Washington, American Council on Public Affairs, 1942, pp. viii, 147, cloth \$3.00, paper \$2.50.)

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- Studying Medicine in 1824 [letter of George T. Hutchings, Jan. 28, 1824]. *Gen. Mag. and Hist. Chron.*, July.
- The War Diary of C. J. Marshall [1916; concl.]. *Ibid.*

NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

THE GOLDEN AGE OF COLONIAL CULTURE. By *Thomas J. Wertenbaker*, Edwards Professor of American History, Princeton University. [Anson G. Phelps Lectureship on Early American History.] (New York, New York University Press, 1942, pp. 171, \$3.00.) This is another in a growing list of excellent studies dealing with the cultural history of colonial America. To a better understanding of this important subject Professor Wertenbaker has been one of the principal contributors. He broke new ground in 1927 with his volume *The First Americans*, and more recently there have appeared his studies of the founding of American civilization in the Middle colonies and the South. Now he has written an engaging account of mid-eighteenth century cultural interests and attainment in six leading urban centers of colonial America: Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Annapolis, Williamsburg, and Charleston. Devoting a chapter to each of these cities, the author evaluates the "extent and importance" of the cultural achievement and activity in art and architecture, the artistic

crafts, literature and science, music, and the theater. In each instance due attention is paid to the part local conditions and European influence played in determining the character of cultural development. Beginning with Boston, Professor Wertenbaker notes the eighteenth century conflict in that New England town between the old order and the new rationalism, rightly attributes to commercial development the cultural changes that were taking place, and finds a close connection between colonial cultural beginnings and the city's subsequent prominence as an artistic and literary center. The study of New York emphasizes the triumph of the English over the Dutch way of life and the emergence by the end of the eighteenth century of "a typical American mercantile city." Philadelphia's claim to leadership as a colonial cultural center, the author holds, rests on Quaker tolerance, which made possible the introduction of new ideas. Drawing on his full knowledge of Southern history, Professor Wertenbaker's chapters on colonial Annapolis and Williamsburg merit special praise. Stress is laid on the heavy debt in all things cultural that the towns of the tobacco region owed to London. A revealing treatment of Charleston's cultural life shows how it was a product of a merchant-planter economy and the mingling of many peoples. In a thoughtful concluding chapter the author attributes to the increased wealth of the eighteenth century the cultural development in art and literature, music and the theater. The chief virtue of this book lies in the skillful way Professor Wertenbaker has synthesized a wide range of monographic and source material and the care he has taken to formulate his conclusions. Attractive both in format and in style, this is a charming volume.

SIDNEY I. POMERANTZ

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF THOSE WHO ATTENDED HARVARD COLLEGE IN THE CLASSES 1713-1721, WITH BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND OTHER NOTES. By *Clifford K. Shipton*. [Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Volume VI.] (Boston, Massachusetts Historical Society, 1942, pp. xii, 641.) This volume, the sixth in the series and the third done by Mr. Shipton, keeps to the high standard set by its predecessors. The short biographies contain all the essential data, and some of them are not only historical records but also skillful character sketches. The bibliographies and index are excellent. Moreover, the volume has special value because it deals with the first half of the eighteenth century, a period too little studied by historians of New England and too often erroneously supposed to have been sterile and dull. Mr. Shipton's work shows that it was neither. It was instead a time in which many men—and some of them from Harvard—faced in their reading, their professions, or their businesses, ideas and issues that we recognize today as having been important in the development of our culture and useful in preparing the way for a new nation. Men like Charles Chauncy, Ebenezer Gay, Isaac Greenwood, and Ebenezer Turell—to take four at random—are already known to specialists in literary, religious, and intellectual history, but to read of them in this book, together with the sketches of scores of their contemporaries, is to find new material on their lives, to see them as individuals in clearer perspective, and to be made more vividly conscious of the significance of their times in the northern colonies.

KENNETH B. MURDOCK

NARRATIVE OF AMERICAN VOYAGES AND TRAVELS OF CAPTAIN WILLIAM OWEN, R. N., AND SETTLEMENT OF THE ISLAND OF CAMPOBELLO IN THE BAY OF FUNDY, 1766-1771. Edited by *Victor Hugo Paltsits*. (New York, New York Public Library, 1942, pp. 182, \$2.25, paper \$1.75.)

HISTORIC CONCORD: A HANDBOOK OF ITS STORY AND ITS MEMORIALS, WITH THE STORY OF THE LEXINGTON FIGHT. By *Allen French*. (Concord, the author, 1942, pp. 108, 85 cents.)

HISTORY OF THE UNITED CHURCH OF NEW HAVEN. By *Mary Hewitt Mitchell*. Written in Commemoration of the Two Hundredth Anniversary, 1742-1942. (New Haven, United Church, 1942, pp. viii, 286, \$2.00.) This volume is an interesting demonstration of how the history of even a single church, when written by a well-trained historian, can be a contribution to social and cultural history. For this purpose the history of the United or North Church on the New Haven green, with its two hundred years of continuous development, makes an exceptionally good subject. Mrs. Mitchell has realized its full possibilities. She has given the considerable body of local history a setting in a larger framework. She tells with clarity of the development from a state church in an age and area where the church of England members were only recognized as "sober dissenters" to the present free church stamped with the broad views of Theodore Munger. The author's treatment is enlivened by happy quotation of the quaint and fitting phrases of the old records.

MERCHANTS AND TRADE OF THE CONNECTICUT RIVER VALLEY, 1750-1820. By *Margaret E. Martin*. [Smith College Studies in History, Vol. XXIV, Nos. 1-4.] (Northampton, Department of History of Smith College, October, 1938-July, 1939, pp. vii, 284, \$2.00.) Annotated to a complete bibliography of printed and manuscript materials, Miss Martin's study of Connecticut River Valley merchants from the eve of the French and Indian War to the end of the depression following the Second War for Independence adds luster to the Smith College Studies in History. It is the story of river traffic, of ports, of commission and shipping merchants, and of a trading area of two or three hundred thousand people when the Connecticut River was the sole highway of inland transportation for a considerable coastal and West Indian trade and for an occasional boat with lumber, flax, grain, and potash for the British Isles. It is of the period when small sea-going boats could follow the river to Warehouse Point above Hartford, when New London was a reshipment center for the valley, when the molasses-rum trade ran high, and when the river ports and their prosperous general-store traders were not overshadowed by Boston and New York merchant princes. The general economy of the area is detailed through three wars and three depressions, as its rural and commercial life begins to be transformed into an industrialized society. Miss Martin does well to supplement her readers' information about the greater ports and their merchants by casting light upon lesser mercantile figures who walked local wharves. And the Bulls and Colts of Hartford, Jeremiah Wadsworth and Carter, the brother-in-law of Hamilton, the Dwights of Springfield, and Silas Deane were not uninteresting, nor were the numerous lesser men of this very American area whose trade and politics and intermarriages warranted their equality of influence and association with the standing ministry of the port towns.

RICHARD J. PURCELL

MAPS OF CONNECTICUT, FOR THE YEARS OF INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION, 1801-1860: A DESCRIPTIVE LIST. By *Edmund Burke Thompson*. (Windham, Hawthorn House, 1942, pp. 111, \$8.50.)

THE DIARY OF MICHAEL FLOY, JR., BOWERY VILLAGE, 1833-1837. Edited by *Richard Albert Edward Brooks*. With an Introductory Note, Annotations, and Postscript by *Margaret Floy Washburn*. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1941, pp. xi, 269, \$5.00.) This book was published in celebration of the seventh-fifth anniversary of the founding of Vassar College and in honor of Henry Noble MacCracken, in the twenty-fifth year of his presidency of the college. It is more directly linked to the college through Margaret Floy Washburn, a kinsman of the diarist and long a

Vassar professor. It is an almost daily record, somewhat abbreviated in the editing, of a young man's experience in New York City in the years 1833 to 1837, the last years of his life, which was short, having begun in 1808. To persons not interested in Vassar College or the Floy family, it is an illuminating account of life in the metropolis as seen from the point of view of an active observer and humane critic. The author received the B.A. and M.A. degrees from Columbia and was nominated to a professorship in North Carolina. This reviewer is not competent to estimate him as a mathematician or his sustained efforts to extend the application of that discipline in the fields of astronomy and physics, but there seems to have been in this nurseryman the making of a scientist. The diary throws some light on the early beginnings of what we call social work for young Floy was a champion of the underdog. The suggestion that Floy was a tolerant puritan is contradicted by his contemptuous references to the morals of British aristocracy and some others (see pp. 51 and 115).

EDGAR DAWSON

BROOKLYN'S EASTERN DISTRICT. By *Eugene L. Armbruster*. (Brooklyn, New York, the author, 263 Eldert Street, 1942, pp. 400, \$3.00.) "The author traces the development of the communities of Williamsburgh, Bushwick, Greenpoint, North Brooklyn, Bedford, Wallabout, and New Lots during the past hundred years." The manuscript was completed in 1928.

HISTORY OF THE NEW YORK POLYCLINIC MEDICAL SCHOOL AND HOSPITAL. Edited by *Winfred Morgan Hartshorn*. (New York, the editor, 115 East 61st Street, 1942, pp. 220, \$2.50.)

ÉMIGRÉS IN THE WILDERNESS. By *T. Wood Clarke*. (New York, Macmillan, 1941, pp. xvi, 247, \$3.00.) The émigrés are of course the refugees from the Europe of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic era, and the wilderness is mainly the "north country" in New York State. Parallels, tantalizingly suggestive but hopelessly elusive—and probably illusory—between those refugees and those of the tortured Europe of our day, do not seem to have been in the author's mind. It might have been interesting, also, to compare the activities and designs of Jacques LeRay de Chaumont with those of, say, the Holland Land Company, in the American land-speculating game. But the purpose of the book is stated to "collect the stories and legends" of the region. Those covered include, besides the territory north of the Mohawk, west of the Adirondacks, and on the shores of Oneida and Ontario lakes and the St. Lawrence River, certain settlements in central New York and in Pennsylvania. The author has not attempted to make this a work of erudition. The material used consists, in addition to certain sources such as the "Journal of Castorland," of proceedings and collections of historical societies, county histories, many stray periodical articles, and old and recent books. There are numerous illustrations, chiefly portraits and pictures of places. There is an index of names of persons and places. There is included a rather full account—indeed it occupies one fifth of the space—of the pathetic story of Eleazar Williams and of the controversy between the proponents and opponents of the claim that he was "The Lost Dauphin." And, for good measure, there is the mystery of Lewis Anathe Muller and his fortress-mansion in Georgetown, Madison County, New York. Altogether, for local history enthusiasts and for haunters of the country of the "Thousand Islands" region in New York this book will be rewarding and interesting.

CHARLES WORTHEN SPENCER

JAMES BURD, FRONTIER DEFENDER, 1726-1793. By *Lily Lee Nixon*. [Pennsylvania Lives.] (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1941, pp. vii, 198,

\$2.00.) Biographies of minor historical characters are valuable primarily because they sometimes throw light upon events of real importance. The present volume is especially useful in that it clarifies the situation which existed in western Pennsylvania during the period of the French and Indian War. Colonel Burd was no great military hero but he was a *rara avis*—a gentleman of good family and connections who spent most of his active life on or near the frontier and took a leading part in both civil and military affairs. Being a member of the Proprietary party and a son-in-law of the powerful Edward Shippen, he rose rapidly to an important position in Pennsylvania; but when the Revolutionary movement ushered in a democratic regime, his former services were forgotten and he was allowed to remain practically inactive during those crucial years despite his loyalty to the Whig cause. The author has based her work almost entirely upon manuscript materials, some of them in private collections and little used heretofore. She has treated her subject objectively and has woven her facts into a compact and lucid narrative. It is unfortunate that she has not given citations to her sources, but her work has been painstakingly careful and accurate in detail. Only two errors have been noted. James Innes never enjoyed the title of "Governor" (p. 32), and "all western lands" were never "turned over to the central government" (p. 180). This volume is one in the series of biographies being sponsored by the University of Pennsylvania Press, and it maintains the high quality of those published hitherto, being both readable and informative. THOMAS PERKINS ABERNETHY

ANNALS OF THE CONESTOGA VALLEY IN LANCASTER, BERKS, AND CHESTER COUNTIES, PENNSYLVANIA. By *Christian Z. Mast* and *Robert Emmett Simpson*. (Elverson, Christian Z. Mast, 1942, pp. 690, \$3.00.)

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE PETROLEUM INDUSTRY: SOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY. By *Paul H. Giddens*, Professor of History and Political Science, Allegheny College. (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Historical Commission, 1941, pp. vii, 195.) This book is essentially a supplementary volume to Professor Giddens' excellent *The Birth of the Oil Industry* (Macmillan, 1938). It contains source material discovered during the writing of the earlier volume and a bibliography on the beginnings of the oil industry much longer than that appearing in the first book. The source material is divided into two sections. First, there is a group of fifty-three letters, written during 1854 and 1855, most of them to Dr. Francis B. Brewer, a resident of Titusville who early became interested in the commercial exploitation of western Pennsylvanian oil. The editor describes them as "the most extensive sources of information about the organization of the Pennsylvania Rock Oil Company of New York," the first petroleum company in the world. A second section contains nineteen letters written to George H. Bissell (a member of the New York firm attempting to launch the project financially) by various persons involved in the organization of the Pennsylvania Rock Oil Company. Professor Giddens suggests that his bibliography is "not exhaustive" and "is incomplete with reference to some items." This may be true, but as it stands it is eighty-five pages in length and is incomparably the longest and the most valuable bibliography on this subject ever assembled. It is doubtful if anyone will ever have the hardihood to do a more complete job. It seems likely, in fact, that the bibliography will be far more important to any subsequent student of this subject than the letters of Brewer or Bissell. Professor Giddens himself, both in his first book and in the introduction to this one, has reduced the essential facts contained in these letters to a clear historical narrative. The bibliography, however, will stand as a beacon light for any scholar interested in the beginnings of the petroleum industry.

HAROLD U. FAULKNER

PLACE NAMES IN BUCKS COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA, ALPHABETICALLY
ARRANGED IN AN HISTORICAL NARRATIVE. Compiled by *George Mac-*
Reynolds. (Doylestown, Bucks County Historical Society, 1942, pp. 482, \$2.50.)

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

THE DEVELOPMENT OF UNIVERSITY CENTERS IN THE SOUTH: PAPERS PRESENTED AT THE DEDICATION OF THE JOINT UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, DECEMBER FIFTH AND SIXTH, 1941, NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE. Edited by *Augustus Frederick Kuhlman*. (Nashville, Joint University Libraries, 1942, pp. 128, \$1.00.) "This volume deals only with four of these centers—in Georgia, New Orleans, North Carolina, and Nashville."

THE DELAWARE CONTINENTALS, 1775-1783. By *Christopher L. Ward*. (Wilmington, Historical Society of Delaware, 1941, pp. xviii, 620, \$3.75.) The author of this volume has undertaken to do more than just to exploit the story of a single unit in the war of the American Revolution. Indeed the book becomes almost the story of the entire contest. Nevertheless, through the warp and woof of the narrative, the reader's eye is drawn unfailingly to the winding, colorful thread that marks the trail of the Delaware Continentals. That the Delaware regiment should be made the central figure in such a narrative is justified by the fact that it "was excelled by no other in the length and continuity of its service," that "no regiment in the army surpassed it in soldiership" (General Henry Lee), and that it was "reckoned the most efficient in the Continental Army" (the historian, Dr. David Ramsay). Organized in December, 1775, it took part in most of the major engagements of the war, even down to Yorktown, although then but a tattered remnant—one hundred out of the seven hundred it had once counted. The story, as told by Mr. Ward, is a vivid, a satisfying, narrative, whether in the analysis of strategy and tactics, in the colorful descriptions of campaigns and battles, or in the intimate character sketches of the *dramatis personae*.

ROBERT ALEXANDER, MARYLAND LOYALIST. By *Janet Bassett Johnson*. (New York, Putnam, 1942, pp. xiii, 152, \$2.50.) It was not so many years ago that we Americans began to manifest a liking for taking our history "straight." One result of this new taste was an epidemic of debunking. But there was also a counteroffensive in the enactment here and there of "pure history" laws, mainly applicable to the American Revolution. These "pure history" laws mostly soured in the bottle or exploded in the very faces of the dispensers. At all events, we are now content to listen calmly to the arguments of a Loyalist of the American Revolution and not feel impelled to bark ferociously at him: "Be gone, you vile Tory!" Robert Alexander of Maryland was an upstanding patriot of the American Revolution throughout the period of protest. Only when confronted with the necessity of choosing between loyalty to the mother country and waging a war for separation did he halt, then take his stand on the side of the old allegiance instead of espousing the new. He was but one of thousands. In the forefront of his colony's councils from the Stamp Act controversy of 1765 to the spring of 1776, a member of the Maryland Convention, of the Council of Safety, of the Continental Congress; he strove valiantly for the rectification of the mother country's errors, for the restoration of colonial rights. At the Declaration of Independence, however, he balked; and thereafter he rendered such services as he could to the British cause. In consequence he was exiled from his native Maryland and compelled to spend his latter days in England. Dr. Janet Bassett Johnson has pursued meticulously the life of Robert Alexander, as revealed by surviving records,

and has related the story in a dispassionate and scholarly manner, albeit with a minimum of wandering into bypaths of forest or field. A few instances of careless proof-reading have been observed.

ARCHIVES OF MARYLAND. Volume LVIII, PROCEEDINGS AND ACTS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF MARYLAND, 1762-1763 (27). *J. Hall Pleasants*, Editor. [Published by Authority of the State under the Direction of the Maryland Historical Society.] (Baltimore, the Society, 1941, pp. lxxix, 614, \$3.00.) This volume follows chronologically Volume LVI of the *Archives (Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly 26)*, reviewed in this journal in April, 1941 (p. 667). The record of the two sessions of the assembly in 1762-63 is, however, more than the chronological successor of the record for 1758-61; it is a continuation of the old quarrels between the lower house, party of the first part, and the upper house (with the governor thrown in), party of the second part—with the proprietary edging in a word now and then; it is a repetition of the time-dishonored contentions, political maneuverings, bickerings, subterfuges—not to intimate occasional indulgences in nauseous skulduggery. The marvel is that the government did not succumb for want of breath and that the colony survived its government. This is not to say that the Maryland colonial legislature was worse than those of other colonies. No doubt it was as good as the average, probably better than some. As hitherto, the admirable introduction by the editor, a summary of the proceedings, with judicious comments upon them, is an invaluable guide to the volume.

CHECK-LIST OF VIRGINIA STATE PUBLICATIONS, 1940. [Bulletin of the Virginia State Library.] (Richmond, Division of Purchase and Printing, 1942, pp. 71.)

THE EARLY ARCHITECTURE OF NORTH CAROLINA: A PICTORIAL SURVEY, by *Frances Benjamin Johnston*, with AN ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY, by *Thomas Tileston Waterman*. Foreword by Leicester B. Holland. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1941, pp. xxxv, 290, \$10.00.) This volume, which follows the unacknowledged lead in this field of research taken by *Old Homes and Gardens of North Carolina*, also published by the University of North Carolina Press and issued in 1939 under the auspices of the Garden Club of North Carolina, embodies the co-operative activities of a number of individuals and organizations. These photographic records of early North Carolina architecture, unsurpassed in artistic beauty and selective taste, are the work of Miss Frances Benjamin Johnston, which was carried on through the support of the Carnegie Corporation of New York. The extensive travel and intensive study engaged in by Mr. Thomas Tileston Waterman were made possible through the Historic American Buildings Survey. The period covered by the houses photographed is slightly less than a century and a quarter (1734-1849). Neither in number nor in magnificence were the mansion houses on the great plantations in North Carolina comparable to those in Virginia and South Carolina; and in consequence the survivals of the "great house" are few. But, as Mr. Holland points out, a "far more vivid picture of how the early settlers shaped their lives and built their homes upon the land they had cleared is to be found in North Carolina than elsewhere in the southern states." The forces which shaped the early architecture of North Carolina came not as a direct influence from England, France, or Spain but largely at secondhand from other colonies. This gives great variety to North Carolina architecture. The subtler values of the photographs are sacrificed in the gloss of the shiny paper. There are minor errors. The dating of the beginning of the Tryon Palace is ten years too late. The plate on page 208 is upside down, a fact well advertised by the alert *New Yorker* (Feb. 21, 1942). It is nevertheless an important work of more than

local antiquarian or architectural interest, as Mr. Waterman's scholarly text amply demonstrates.
ARCHIBALD HENDERSON

THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA. By *David A. Lockmiller*. With a Foreword by Fred J. Kelly. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1942, pp. xiv, 160, cloth \$3.00, paper \$2.00.)

MILLHANDS & PREACHERS: A STUDY OF GASTONIA. By *Liston Pope*, Assistant Professor of Social Ethics, Yale University Divinity School. [Yale Studies in Religious Education, XV.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1942, pp. xvi, 369, \$4.00.)

WEATHER OBSERVERS AND OBSERVATIONS AT CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA, 1670-1871. By *Robert Croom Aldredge*. (Charleston, Historical Commission of Charleston, received 1942, pp. 190-257, apply.)

SOUTH CAROLINA SILVERSMITHS, 1690-1860. By *E. Milby Burton*, Director, the Charleston Museum. [Contributions from the Charleston Museum, X.] (Charleston, Charleston Museum, 1942, pp. xvii, 311, board \$3.50, paper \$2.50.) This volume is a commendable enterprise of the Charleston Museum. Mr. Burton has made his search with great thoroughness, and his notes are so presented that they give the material something more than antiquarian interest. The social and economic historian of the Old South might comb some points out of it and find suggestions for further study; e. g., William Gregg, who was an entrepreneur ahead of his times in starting cotton mills. The British in 1782 and Sherman's men in 1865 were such thorough collectors that specimens of many silversmiths are hard to locate, but the compiler lists over three hundred silversmiths, and that alone tells something about ante-bellum South Carolina.

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NOTES ON THE STORMING OF BEXAR IN THE CLOSE OF 1835. By *Samuel Augustus Maverick*. (San Antonio, Frederick C. Chabot, 403 Madison Street, 1942, pp. 32, \$3.00.)

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

THE FRENCH IN THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY, 1740-1750. By *Norman Ward Caldwell*. [Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences.] (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1941, pp. 113, cloth \$2.00, paper \$1.50.) This small, compact book is a valuable contribution to the history of the period and area covered. No space is wasted in glamorous description and speculation. Although the ground has been cultivated heretofore by such eminent historians as Parkman, Winsor, and Alvord, no such microscopic analysis has ever been attempted for the years in question—a critical period in the history of French domination in the Mississippi Valley. Dr. Caldwell's study is based on materials in the French and English archives and on manuscript collections in the United States. Relevant printed documentary sources are also utilized. The pages are well fortified with footnote citations, and there is an adequate bibliography. The title of the book, however, is somewhat misleading, since relatively small attention is paid to the lower portion of the Mississippi Valley. The principal subjects embodied in the five chapters relate to the administrative system in vogue in eighteenth century New France, the number and character of the inhabitants and their industry, the fur trade, general Indian relations, the Indian uprising of 1747, and the Upper Ohio question. Although little that is new may be found in the author's treatment of the governmental system of Canada and Louisiana, there are occasional illuminating side lights, as, for example, the fresh illustration of the no man's land between the respective constitutional powers of governor and intendant (pp. 10-11). In the course of Dr. Caldwell's narrative he has demonstrated conclusively the reasons for the failure of the French government to maintain its colonial empire in North America: the unsound basis of colonial finance, inadequate support from the home government (particularly with respect to fiscal and currency matters), and the ineffectual methods of French bureaucracy. Failure to encourage the colonization of the region by middle-class farmers, in contrast to the English practice, is also emphasized. And the divided responsibility for the administration of the valley as between Canada and Louisiana is clearly established. On the other hand, the French were eminently successful in the management of the Indians, though there were exceptions even in that regard, as in the critical year of 1747. The reader cannot but be impressed, however, with the futility of French exertions in the face of English encroachments during the years just prior to the opening of the fateful struggle of 1754-63. CLARENCE E. CARTER

JOURNALS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE MISSISSIPPI TERRITORY.
JOURNAL OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, SECOND GENERAL ASSEM-

BLY, SECOND SESSION, OCTOBER 3–NOVEMBER 19, 1803; JOURNAL OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, SECOND GENERAL ASSEMBLY, SECOND SESSION, OCTOBER 3–NOVEMBER 19, 1803. Edited by *William D. McCain*. [Heartman's Historical Series.] (Hattiesburg, Book Farm, 1940, pp. 54, 80, \$5.00 each.) These two volumes, as their titles indicate, reprint the journals of the General Assembly of the Mississippi Territory for the second session of the year 1803. This session occupied itself mainly with the duties common to many early legislative efforts—to the establishment of courts, regulating the inspection of agricultural products, relief of creditors and debtors, regulation of slaves, development of Jefferson College—and with petitioning the Congress of the United States regarding land claims and the division of the Mississippi Territory. The editor writes that he has attempted to print these public documents "without the slightest deviation from the manuscript. Every error and peculiarity has been reproduced faithfully." It is doubtful if this laudable ambition has been achieved. It is particularly unfortunate that the editor did not see fit to identify with care and completeness the members of the legislature and to give other supplementary information necessary to an understanding of the work of the session. The editing is in no way as complete, detailed, or scholarly, for example, as the work being done by Dr. Clarence E. Carter on the *Territorial Papers of the United States*. Although a service has been done in presenting this first printing of the journals, the task is not yet complete. The journals need to be edited.

PHILIP D. JORDAN

GOVERNORS OF KENTUCKY, 1792-1942. By *G. Glenn Clift*. [Kentucky Sesqui-centennial Edition.] (Cynthiana, Hobson Press, 1942, pp. xv, 361, \$3.50.) A purely chronological and genealogical compilation covering eighty-eight governors and lieutenant governors. Except for the bibliographies, most of the essential information in the text about the thirty-eight governors is all in a folded table of about four pages.

THE ANTISLAVERY CONTROVERSY IN MISSOURI, 1819-1865. By *Benjamin Merkel*. (Saint Louis, Washington University, 1942, pp. 53.)

DEBATES OF THE MISSOURI CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1875. Edited by *Isidor Loeb* and *Floyd C. Shoemaker*. Volume IX. (Columbia, State Historical Society of Missouri, 1942, pp. 522, \$1.45.)

IOWA: PUBLIC LAND DISPOSAL. By *Roscoe L. Lokken*. [Iowa Centennial History.] (Iowa City, State Historical Society of Iowa, 1942, pp. 318, \$3.00.) This volume is a fine piece of historical research, carefully documented and readable as well. The author has succeeded in relating the Iowa land problems to the larger problem of public land disposal by giving us, in some of the chapters, a national background for the local scene. This relationship is perhaps best illustrated in the chapter dealing with pre-emption. This chapter begins with 1781 and traces the struggle for free land through the various stages to the act of 1841. Chapter v, which discusses "Public Auction and Private Sales," and chapter vi, entitled "Land Warrants and Speculation," it seems to this reviewer, are especially well done. Here the reader is brought to see the difficulty which the national government encountered in its attempt to dispose of the public domain for the benefit of actual settlers. Graft and corruption presented a problem in Iowa as in many other states where valuable lands were sought by speculators as well as by actual settlers. The value of this study might have been increased if the author had made more extensive use of the records of the General Land Office in the National Archives, especially the correspondence of the commissioner. The book has a fine format and an attractive binding. It has a good index,

and the lack of a bibliography is compensated for by excellent notes and references. It is a valuable contribution to an understanding of our public land policy.

FREMONT P. WIRTH

ARCHEOLOGICAL REMAINS IN CENTRAL KANSAS AND THEIR POSSIBLE BEARING ON THE LOCATION OF QUIVIRA. By *Waldo R. Wedel*. [Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collection, Volume 101, No. 7.] (Washington, Smithsonian Institution, 1942, pp. 34, apply.)

OLD PRAIRIE DAYS. By *Arthur E. Towne*. (Otsego, Otsego Union Press, 1942 [copyright 1941], pp. 415, \$2.75.)

MISSION MUSIC OF CALIFORNIA: A COLLECTION OF OLD CALIFORNIA MISSION HYMNS AND MASSES. Transcribed and edited by Rev. *Owen da Silva*, Sometime Professor of Music, St. Anthony's Seminary, Santa Barbara, California. Accompaniments & Chirography by Arthur M. Bienbar. Mission Sketches by Paul A. Moore. (Los Angeles, Warren F. Lewis, 1941, pp. xv, 132, \$7.50.) In this collection of unusual source material the author has restricted himself to the musical activities and material used by the Franciscan padres in the twenty-one missions of Upper California. A similar account of the twenty-seven missions established by the Jesuits and Dominicans, as well as that of San Fernando de Velicatá, founded by the Franciscans in Lower California, would excellently supplement the treatise. The format of the present text is excellent, the bibliography extensive, and the mission sketches superb. The chapters on "Mission Music," "Padre Musicians," and the translation of Padre Duran's "Prólogo" trace the kind of music used by the padres, a selective group teaching the art, and the methods employed in simplifying the teaching of plain chant. That the padres must have exercised untiring efforts in instructing the neophyte is obvious from the physical measurements used in comprehending tonal differences. Part singing was limited to consonant intervals, mostly thirds and fourths, of which "Misa Cataluña" is a fine example. The inclusion of the *Alabado* and *Mañanitas* speaks of their popularity in that time, which accounts for their historic continuity to the present day. *Mission Music of California* is a splendid monument to the music of the historic past.

SISTER JOAN OF ARC

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NORTHWEST BOOKS: REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON BOOKS OF THE INLAND EMPIRE COUNCIL OF TEACHERS OF ENGLISH. (Portland, Binfords and Mort, 1942, pp. 356, \$2.00.) "A collection of short reviews of over 1,100 books by authors from Northwestern United States; selected lists of books about the Northwest, by districts, etc.; and a selective bibliography of magazine contributions by Northwest authors."

SWEDE HOMESTEAD. By *Nancy Mae Anderson*. (Caldwell, Caxton Printers, 1942, pp. 188, \$2.50.) "The life story of . . . a Swedish homesteader in the wilds of North Idaho in the early 1900's."

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Latin-American History

J. W. Caughey

LATIN AMERICA: A DESCRIPTIVE SURVEY. By *William Lytle Schurz*. (New York, E. P. Dutton, 1941, pp. 378, \$3.75.) The author has produced a type of book altogether too rare in this field. It is both accurate and readable, compact and comprehensive—the fruit of adequate scholarly preparation and of wide diplomatic and business experience. For these reasons he gives his readers a variegated picture of our southern neighbors, enriched with personal observations that are at once well documented, unusual, and appropriate. Mr. Schurz has penetrated the interior of the Americas, not merely the fringes; he has noted the spirit of the people, not simply a few external characteristics. At the outset he explains his preference for the term "Latin America" and then devotes a brief chapter or "part" to the physical and to the historical background and somewhat longer sections to the people and to their governments. As might be expected from one who long served as commercial attaché in these countries, the part describing "The Economy" is very full and informative. A briefer section on "International Relations," devoted largely to affairs that touch the United States, and another on "The Way of Life," sympathetic, clear-cut, and definitive, close his narrative. A glossary of Spanish and Portuguese terms and an index complete the book. These aids and the subdivisions of the longer parts permit ready reference to any of the topics treated. The topical method helps to unify his subject as a whole without giving unity to the description of the separate countries or the larger sections. The wealth of illustration, compressed within moderate compass, gives the volume an encyclopedic style that does not encourage continuous reading. These are inevitable characteristics, not defects. Balanced against them are the many illustrations, the clear style, and the numerous personal side lights that simply and unobtrusively illumine the narrative. One who brings together from the text the different items bearing on a given topic is readily impressed by the aptness and variety of the author's materials and the skill, clarity, and good judgment with which

they are put together. The volume is indispensable alike for the specialist and the general reader.

ISAAC J. COX

A HISTORY OF LATIN AMERICA. By *David R. Moore*, Professor of History, Oberlin College. Revised edition. (New York, Prentice-Hall, 1942, pp. xiv, 942, \$4.25.) See *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLIV, 416.

HISTORIES AND HISTORIANS OF HISPANIC AMERICA. By *A. Curtis Wilgus*. Revised edition. (New York, H. W. Wilson, 1942, pp. xii, 144, \$1.75.) The chief function of this slender volume is to present an over-all view of the historical literature of Hispanic America. Geographically grouped within a chronological framework, the principal works of some 1,200 writers are characterized. Choices, especially among contemporary Hispanic Americanists, are open to question, and the comments offered tend to be exceedingly perfunctory, yet the manual has high usefulness as a roll call of the laborers in this major field. Through its chronological arrangement it also suggests something of the evolution of this particular branch of historiography. The first edition appeared in 1936.

CULTURAL BASES OF HEMISPHERIC UNDERSTANDING (BASES CULTURALES DEL ENTENDIMIENTO CONTINENTAL): PAPERS READ AT A CONFERENCE ON LATIN-AMERICAN CULTURE SPONSORED BY THE INSTITUTE OF LATIN-AMERICAN STUDIES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS. (Austin, Institute of Latin-American Studies of the University of Texas, 1942, pp. 94.) This pamphlet reproduces the principal papers read at a Pan-American Day conference last April 14 and 15. Included are "The Cultural Bases of Inter-American Solidarity," by Charles A. Thomson; "The Source of American Art," by Justino Fernández; "Contributions and Significant Features of Latin-American Literature," by Julio Jiménez Rueda; "Pan Americanism as a Political Structure," by Pablo Max Ynsfran; "Spain and the Southwest," by Federico de Onís; and "Economic Relations between the United States and Latin America," by Wendell C. Gordon.

TRANS-PACIFIC RELATIONS OF LATIN AMERICA: AN INTRODUCTORY ESSAY AND SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY. By *Anita Bradley*. [International Research Series.] (New York, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1942, pp. 127, \$1.00.)

AMBASSADORS IN WHITE: THE STORY OF AMERICAN TROPICAL MEDICINE. By *Charles Morrow Wilson*. (New York, Holt, 1942, pp. 382, \$3.50.)

THE FACE OF SOUTH AMERICA: AN AERIAL TRAVERSE. By *John Lyon Rich*, University of Cincinnati. [American Geographical Society, Special Publication No. 26, edited by John C. Weaver.] (New York, American Geographical Society, 1942, pp. xvii, 299, \$4.00.) Only the intelligent direction and the resources of the American Geographical Society in New York could have conceived and executed such a beautiful and well-edited picture book. It will interest primarily teachers of geography, but writers on the economics and history of South America will do well to ride the airways of that continent with Professor Rich and his camera. They will see as with their own eyes the lands which condition the peoples, institutions, and civilization they discuss. The airplane as a methodological aid to the study of past and present cultures is again demonstrated.

FROM BARTER TO SLAVERY: THE ECONOMIC RELATIONS OF PORTUGUESE AND INDIANS IN THE SETTLEMENT OF BRAZIL, 1500-1580. By *Alexander Marchant*, Instructor in History, College for Teachers, the Johns Hopkins

University. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LX, Number 1.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1942, pp. 160, \$1.50.) Here is the first serious study in English of Portuguese-Indian relations in Brazil, 1500-1580. The author's thesis is that the Portuguese relied on barter during the first years of settlement but gradually shifted to enslavement when the growing complexity of the economic system forced recourse to a more stable labor supply. From 1500 to 1533 "the Portuguese used barter when they wished to obtain labor, food, brazilwood, or other wares and services from the natives. The evidence does not indicate their enslavement of the Indians to obtain such desiderata, and, indeed, references in the evidence to enslaving the Indians for use in Brazil do not occur until a later date" (p. 46). First came barter of goods for goods, then goods for labor and food. When the population increased barter continued for "many of the necessities of life" (p. 137), but was inadequate to supply workers for the cane fields after the establishment of the captaincies. From 1533 enslavement became more frequent and the barter system broke down for a time, but with the establishment of the government-general and the coming of the Jesuits in 1549 it was restored. Not all the Indians were enslaved. "As a consequence, different conditions of Indians had different relations with the Portuguese. Free Indians could use barter, and the restored system existed side by side with the forced labor of the slave Indians" (p. 137). In the south of Brazil where agriculture for export was less developed than in Bahia and Pernambuco, "and where the tendency to enslavement was accordingly less, the free Indians inclined to remain both free and friendly as an unconfined part of the population" (p. 139). Slavery and barter existed side by side, and "through the sixteenth century run the two themes of barter and slavery" (p. 23). Thus, Mr. Marchant's own words contradict the thesis implied in the title of his book, "From Barter to Slavery." But it is the title more than the content of the book that is in error. We need not hesitate to accept the thesis that transition from barter to slavery was the result of Brazil's developing economy. Slavery did become increasingly important, barter less, even while the two continued in Brazil into the eighteenth century.

BAILY W. DIFFIE

THE GAUCHO: CATTLE HUNTER, CAVALRYMAN, IDEAL OF ROMANCE. By Madaline Wallis Nichols. [Duke University Publications.] (Durham, Duke University Press, 1942, pp. ix, 152, \$3.00.) A voluminous literature, no small part of it from the pen of Miss Nichols, has described the origin of the gaucho as a disreputable cow hunter and contrabandist, his rise to great usefulness as a cavalryman in the Wars of Independence, his subsequent decline in the flesh, and his emergence as a romantic hero and symbol of nationalism. Prefatory to the essay on authorities, which is the backbone of this volume, Miss Nichols describes the manner of gaucho life and the pastoral society from which he sprang. She reports his activities as vendor of stolen hides, his brilliant work as a soldier, his achievements as frontiersman and Indian fighter, and his less beneficial influence in support of caudillism. Concerning the persistence of the gaucho ideal, there is mention not only of the literary masterpieces *Santos Vega* and *Martín Fierro* but also of phenomena analagous to the North American "drugstore cowboy" and the Western pulps. To a greater degree than is true of our cowboys the gaucho has contributed to the national ideals of the Plata republics. Such is the burden of the introductory chapters. The eighty-page bibliography is a classified and annotated listing of 1,431 works in which the gaucho is prominent. Part I covers the literature on the real gaucho; Part II, with over a thousand titles, is on the gaucho of romance, in literature, in folklore, in art, and in music. Particularly because of this bibliography the volume will prove highly useful.

JOHN WALTON CAUGHEY

AZTECS OF MEXICO: ORIGIN, RISE, AND FALL OF THE AZTEC NATION.

By *George C. Vaillant*, Associate Curator of Mexican Archaeology, American Museum of Natural History. [The American Museum of Natural History Science Series.] (Garden City, New York, Doubleday, Doran, 1941, pp. xxii, 340, \$4.00.) *Aztecs of Mexico* presents the results of fifteen years of research in field and library in a manner, unfortunately all too rare, which satisfies the specialist yet is well within the grasp of the layman. Starting from the earliest stages yet known, the story of gradually increasing range of culture, culminating in the barbaric splendor of the Aztecs, is told with admirable clarity. The outline is very largely the result of Dr. Vaillant's excavations around Mexico City, in which he brought order out of the chaos of the so-called archaic horizons and then tackled with equal success later cultures. The Vaillant interpretation of this prehistory is accepted in all its essentials by all specialists in the field. For historians the book has special value as a presentation of the archaeological method of projecting history backward. This is particularly shown in Vaillant's time chart, in which the archaeology is brilliantly blended with the fragments of surviving preconquest history and tradition, the former controlling the choice between all-too-frequent contradictions in the latter. The second part of the book is a popular presentation of Aztec life, comprising chapters on social organization, arts and crafts, religion, warfare, and a well-thought-out, if somewhat flamboyant, reconstruction of everyday life in Tenochtitlan, the ancient Mexico City. There follows a short account of Cortes' conquest of Tenochtitlan. This, like all the book, is excellently illustrated from native sources. The numerous tabular summaries are particularly helpful.

J. ERIC S. THOMPSON

EL TESTAMENTO DE DON HERNANDO COLÓN Y OTROS DOCUMENTOS PARA SU BIOGRAFÍA.

By *José Hernández Díaz* and *Antonio Muro Orejón*. [Publicaciones del Instituto Hispano-Cubano de Historia de América.] (Seville, Imprenta Editorial de la Gavidia, 1941, pp. xxxviii, 319, 55 pesetas bound, 50 pesetas unbound.) The principal purpose of this volume is to make available accurate transcriptions of key documents concerning the life of Don Hernando, son of the first admiral of the Indies and founder of the Biblioteca Colombina in Seville. Several facsimiles are included.

FR. BARTOLOMÉ DE LAS CASAS, DEL ÚNICO MODO DE ATRAER A TODOS LOS PUEBLOS A LA VERDADERA RELIGIÓN.

Edited by *Agustín Millares Carlo*. Introduction by Lewis Hanke. Spanish Version by Atenógenes Santamaría. (Mexico City, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1942, pp. xlv, 593.) Although presented in summary form by Antonio de Remesal in 1619, this important treatise is only now made available in full. The first four chapters of Part I are lacking, but the remainder seems to convey the essential ideas. There is less of special pleading than in the author's more famous *Breússima relación*, yet the writing is with the same vigor.

THE EXPROPRIATION OF FOREIGN-OWNED PROPERTY IN MEXICO.

By *Wendell C. Gordon*. Introduction by Samuel Guy Inman. (Washington, American Council on Public Affairs, 1941, pp. viii, 201, cloth \$3.25, paper \$2.50.)

THE CUBAN CHURCH IN A SUGAR ECONOMY: A STUDY OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL BASIS OF THE EVANGELICAL CHURCH IN CUBA.

By *J. Merle Davis*. (New York, International Missionary Council, 1942, pp. 144, 75 cents.)

BRAZIL UNDER VARGAS.

By *Karl Lowenstein*. (New York, Macmillan, 1942, pp. 400, \$2.75.) A study of the people, landscape, constitution, system of government, courts, press, universities, arts, letters, and leading personality of Brazil.

NEGROES IN BRAZIL. By *Donald Pierson*. [University of Chicago Sociological Series.] (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1942, pp. 420, \$4.50.)

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* * * * *Historical News* * * * *

American Historical Association

Through the notice enclosed with the program, members of the American Historical Association have already been informed of the cancellation of the meeting in Columbus on December 29-31. The meeting called in Washington for December 30 will be for the transaction of necessary business, such as the election of officers and the hearing of the reports. An account of this meeting will appear in the April issue of the *Review*.

Since September the Executive Secretary has kept in touch with the Office of Defense Transportation. The situation in the early fall was reported in the October issue. The situation as viewed by the Federal office remained the same until a week before the request printed below. In the meantime the Executive Secretary had solicited and received from the Executive Committee authority to act promptly if the situation changed. Acting before the appended request was issued, but with full knowledge of its text received by telephone, the Executive Secretary took immediate steps to cancel the Columbus meeting and transfer the business session to Washington. The printing of the program was well advanced, and our commitments to publishers advertising in it required that it go to the press and to the members. There would otherwise have been a heavy loss to the Association. There was additional justification for mailing the program besides the enclosure of the ballot and the notice of cancellation. It gave the members an appreciation of the excellent work that Dr. Pargellis and his associates had done in preparing what would have been a program of exceptional interest. It is to be hoped that means will be found to print at least a selection from the papers prepared for it.

To complete the record the official request is here printed with a letter from Dr. Waldo G. Leland transmitting it:

1219 Sixteenth Street, N. W.,
Washington, D. C.,
November 23, 1942

To Secretaries of Scientific and Learned Societies and Associations:

As Vice-Chairman of the Science Committee of the National Resources Planning Board, Executive Office of the President, I beg to communicate to you the following letter just received with respect to the holding of meetings within the next few weeks. I beg to call attention to the fact that this is the first communication from the Office of Defense Transportation in which the postponement or cancellation of such meetings has been definitely requested.

Very sincerely yours,

Waldo G. Leland

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE FOR EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Office of Defense Transportation
Joseph B. Eastman, Director

November 20, 1942

Lawrence K. Frank,
Consultant, National Resources Planning Board,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Frank:

Thank you for your letter of November 17 in connection with the holding of meetings at the Christmas holiday period.

There is every indication that the carriers will be faced with their greatest problem at this season of the year, and it has been for this reason that we have requested a postponement of all meetings which would involve traveling at that period.

The needs of the military continue to increase, and every effort is being made to see that there is no failure to provide the service which is essential to their needs. Therefore, the request for cancellation of 1942 and 1943 meetings is made.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) H. F. McCarthy, Director,

Division of Traffic Movement

The Managing Editor is unable to answer personally the scores of letters commenting favorably on the new dress given the *Review*. He takes this opportunity to thank the writers on behalf of himself and the Board of Editors.

The very favorable response to the bargain prices offered by the Beveridge Fund Committee for its limited remainder volumes has been gratifying. It is interesting that the orders have come mostly from individuals rather than libraries and institutions. In order that no one may later say he was not aware the volumes were being cleared out, the announcement in the October issue is reprinted. There will be no further notice. The following volumes, with their original prices in parentheses, are presently available:

- Barnes & Dumond: *Letters of Theodore Dwight Weld*, 2 vols. (\$10.00)
- Binkley: *Official Correspondence of the Texas Revolution*, 2 vols. (\$10.00)
- Dumond: *Letters of James Gillespie Birney*, 2 vols. (\$10.00)
- Dumond: *Southern Editorials on Secession* (\$4.00)
- Labaree: *Royal Instructions to British Colonial Governors, 1676-1776* (\$10.00)
- Lynn and Case: *French Opinion on the United States and Mexico, 1860-1867* (\$7.00)
- Pargellis: *Military Affairs in North America, 1746-1765* (\$8.00)

A complete set of all the above list is offered at \$15.00, any three titles at \$7.00, and any two titles at \$5.00. Checks or money orders should be made payable to the

American Historical Association, and orders should be addressed to the office of the Executive Secretary, Room 274, Library of Congress Annex, Washington, D. C.

Other Historical Activities

Among the recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress the following, arranged in chronological order of materials, may be noted: papers of, or relating to, or collected by, John Bigelow (colonel, United States Army, and author, 1854-1936), pertaining to the Suez and Panama canals, explorations and discoveries, military and diplomatic history, military strategy, and American foreign policy, covering *ca.* 18000 B.C. (prehistoric subjects) to 1936 (4 shelves); fifty-six pages of typewritten copies and 1,218 photocopies of manuscripts in Spanish and Mexican archives and libraries, 1515-1795, an additional gift from the Carnegie Institution of Washington; typewritten transcripts of minute book of court of common pleas and quarter sessions, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, 1684-1730 (one box); microfilm of the Virginia Carrington Scrapbook, containing letters of William C. Preston of Virginia and others, 1748-1929 and undated, including list of the pieces; seventy-seven boxes of papers of William James Ghent, relating to history of Western United States, socialism, etc., 1761-1942 and undated; petition from John Young (at one time, hatter, Stafford County, England) to the North Carolina Assembly, requesting assistance for himself and family during his illness in recompense for his service in the army of Governor William Tryon at the time of the "Regulators," 1773; typewritten transcript of orderly book, North Carolina Line, February 7-June 26, 1777; three military reports of Captain Silas Burbank (18th Continental Infantry and 12th Massachusetts Regiment), June 30, 1777-August, 1778; fifteen letters of the Hobart and Story families (Hannah Hobart, mother of Bishop John H. Hobart; Enoch Story, Mary Story, and their children, London, England), including Tories who left the United States, September 8, 1783-July 31, 1789; ten papers (letters and accounts) of Dubey & Company, New York, and Dutilh & Company, Philadelphia, pertaining in part to shipment of ammunitions and supplies to Fort Pitt, February 16-August, 1785; plat and deed of land and wharf in Charleston, South Carolina, first owned by Edward Shrewsbury (or Shrewsbury), surveyed by Ephraim Mitchell, later issued to Charles Cotesworth Pinckney by Thomas Pinckney, governor, October 29, 1785, and July 2, 1787; seven papers of Dutilh & Wasmuth, Philadelphia firm, pertaining to the shipment of slaves from the Gold Coast and Angola, Africa, and payment for slaves, San Domingo and Haiti, 1788-97; twenty letters addressed to Dolly Payne Madison, relating mainly to personal matters, 1797-1817 and undated; photostats of order for execution of Samuel Miller for burglary, county of Alexandria, D. C., June term, 1803, followed by note of release received August 15, 1803, with pardon for Miller signed by

Thomas Jefferson, President, and James Madison, Secretary of State, July 25, 1803; one box of typewritten transcripts of minutes of court of pleas and quarter sessions, Carter County, Tennessee, 1804-05, and of minutes of county court, Meigs County, Volume I, 1836-41; grant of land from the United States to Robert Ormsby, from lands directed to be sold at Shawneetown, Illinois, dated and signed at Washington, D. C., by John Quincy Adams, President, and George Graham, commissioner of the general land office, November 20, 1826; journal (one volume) of Lewis Brantz (master, merchant marine), kept on a trip from Baltimore to Mexico, with notes and sketches, October 18, 1829-March, 1834; 190 papers of the Cope family (mainly letters from John Cope, Company C, 98th Regiment of Ohio Volunteer Infantry, U. S. A., 1863-65), relating to the Civil War and to economic conditions in Ohio and Missouri after the war, 1831-1919 and undated; ten letters from Tappan Wentworth (member of Congress from New Hampshire) to John A. Burleigh, his law partner, pertaining to debates in Congress, February 1-March 5, 1833; 281 additional papers of William Maxwell Evarts, 1835-1908 and undated; 175 papers of Amasa Junius Parker (member of Congress from New York), 1836-75; seven letters of naturalists (John James Audubon, Spencer Fullerton Baird, John Cassin, Daniel Giraud Elliot), December 1, 1840-June 12, 1907; one volume of Barnum's Museum Daily Cash Book, May 5-July 2, 1851; four volumes and twenty-seven loose papers of, or relating to, John Esten Cooke (Virginia novelist and historian), including "Personal Recollections," November 29, 1852-October 7, 1886, and undated; memorandum book of Patterson & Eastman's Law Books, 1853 (accompanied by letter from Robert Schuyler to M. Sloat, January 7, 1849, and a notation dated 1847); eighty-one papers (including two volumes of household accounts and farm records) of L. S. Abbott (editor of *Painesville Telegraph*, Painesville, Ohio; later in Falls Church, Virginia), 1854-94 and undated; copies of six letters from S. E. Burrows to the Russian Count Nesselrode, regarding the frigate *Diana*, and facsimiles of two replies from Count Nesselrode to Burrows, March 15, 1855-November 14, 1856; two volumes of papers of William Tecumseh Sherman (part of material found in his published *Memoirs*), 1861-65, and last pen used by him; three diaries, "Roll Book," and two loose papers of Lawrence Wilson, (sergeant, Company D, 7th Regiment, O. V. I., 1st Brigade, 2d Division, 12th Army Corps,) 1861-65; twenty-one letters from Jasper N. Barritt (substitute, Company E, 76th Illinois Regiment) to members of his family, Milford, Iroquois County, Illinois, August 19, 1862-March 15, 1865; letter from William Campbell Preston Breckinridge to Dr. John R. Desha, dated July 7, 1864, an addition to the papers of the Breckinridge family (letter accompanied by newspaper clipping entitled "Breckinridge Home"); seventy-two papers (letters, diaries, franked envelopes, photographs, theatrical programs, and other printed material) of Edwin Greble (dealer in monuments and gravestones, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania), 1864-86 and undated; original manuscript in Latin entitled "La Concordia," by Giuseppe Mazzini, signed by him June 13, without year, bound with

three portraits, portion of a translation of the document, clipping of biographical sketch of Mazzini, and note of ownership of the volume, which was donated by him for the benefit of wounded soldiers in the United States Civil War; two newspaper clippings relating to Thaddeus Stevens, including article by Mira Lloyd Dock entitled *The Caledonia Furnace*, July 14, 1895; letter from Robert Charles Winthrop (member of Congress from Massachusetts) to General George B. McClellan, January 29, 1869; three letters and photostats of two letters from James Abram Garfield to Burke Aaron Hinsdale, May 17, 1872-June 16, 1881; one volume of manuscript in French by Samuel Viaud, entitled "L'Histoire du Spahi," December, 1873-July, 1874; letter book of letters sent, kept by or for Eugene Schuyler, December 31, 1873-January 9, 1879 (including letters to Marshall Jewell, Hamilton Fish, Frederick W. Seward, London banking firms, and others); letter from Jefferson Davis to Horace Edwin Hayden, Beauvois, Mississippi, September 24, 1879; photostat of letter from Oliver Wendell Holmes (the poet) to Eton L. Rupert, April 15, 1882; thirty-two letters of James Russell Lowell to C. Hodson and others, 1884-90 and undated (25 manuscripts, 1 photocopy, and 6 typewritten copies); miscellany of nine pieces (announcements, tickets, dance programs, badges, etc.) mainly pertaining to the inauguration of Grover Cleveland in 1883; Volume I of the diary of Charles Sumner Hamlin (assistant secretary of the United States Treasury), with index, March 12, 1887-September 1, 1910, and one newspaper clipping, undated, additions to the Charles Sumner Hamlin Collection; three letters from Simon Cameron to Mrs. Simon Cameron Burnside (wife of his grandson), November 15, 1887-October 27, 1888, and twenty-two related photographs; 149 papers (mainly letters received) of, and relating to, Roscoe Conkling, 1769-1895; four papers (two letters, photostat of article, and photostat of document) of, or pertaining to, Woodrow Wilson, 1895-March 21, 1918; one box of papers of Dr. Emil Amberg, relating to efforts of the American Medical Association and the medical association of Wayne County, Michigan, with respect to interstate reciprocity of licensing of physicians, 1899-1922; six papers of, or relating to, the North American Phonograph Company and persons connected with the history of the phonograph (Thomas Russell Lombard, Charles Sumner Taintor, W. E. Gilmore, J. Adrian Bush, Kenneth D. Lippincott), January 6, 1903-29; seven letters from John McCrae (lieutenant colonel, Canadian Army, physician and poet) to Mr. and Mrs. Carleton Noyes, May 13, 1910-September 27, 1914; ten papers (correspondence) of Heywood Broun, including letters from Harold G. Ickes, John L. Lewis, and Franklin D. Roosevelt, April 13, 1912-December 16, 1938; two boxes (including two volumes) of papers concerning claims of the Lewis Gun Company vs. Great Britain (including petition of the American stockholders of the *Armes Automatiques Lewis*, a Belgian corporation, to the government of the United States), 1913-31; "Juvenilia" by Alan Seeger, 1914 (9 manuscripts and 45 typewritten manuscripts with corrections, titles, or notes in the autograph of the poet); "Papers of a Platoon Commander, 30th

Division, A. E. F., on the British Front, 1918-1919" (papers of Henry Brown Dillard, lieutenant, 30th Division, A. E. F., June, 1917-October 18, 1919, and 1931, 35 pieces); seventeen boxes of papers (letters, addresses, clippings, pamphlets) of Robert Latham Owen, 1920-41 and undated; papers of, or relating to, George Sterling (poet), including papers by Rudolph Blaettler and William McDevitt, May 26, 1921-October 30, 1940; one box of papers of William Orr (American educator, secretary, Y. M. C. A.) and Charlotte P. Orr (his wife), consisting of articles written by them during their travel in Europe soon after the first World War, dated December 3, 1921-November 24, 1927; three war poems (autograph copies signed) by Robert Frost, 1923, 1928, and 1942; two boxes of typewritten manuscripts with autograph corrections of six plays by George S. Kaufman (collaborating with Edna Ferber, Ring Lardner, and Morris Ryskind), 1925 to 1941; one box of papers (programs, minutes, reports, and speeches) of the American Peace Society, consisting of proceedings of the Conference on International Justice held by the Society at Cleveland, Ohio, May 7 to 11, 1928, centennial anniversary of its founding; letter from James Stephens (poet) to his son, James Stephens, undated, and photostat of poem, "To Ray Baker Harris," by James Stephens, August, 1933; "A Story of Port Austin [Michigan]: A Village Community" by Henry O. Severance, 1934 (scrapbook of newspaper clippings and photographs arranged and mounted by Frances McKee Hannan); typewritten manuscript, with autograph corrections by the author, of "The Fool," play by Channing Pollock, dated 1936; translation by Office of Inter-American Relations, Stanford University, California, of "Message to the Nation" by Victor Raúl Haya de la Torre, chief of the Peruvian Aprista party, dated at Incahuasi, Peru, February 15, 1942 (typewritten); letter and three autograph poems signed by Bernard Bell ("The American Story," "Cause and Cure," and "The Fortress"), July 13, 1942, and undated; three autograph poems signed by Esley D. Hake Casson ("Last Words of a Faithful Leader," "A Promise," and "Today and the World's Tomorrow"), undated; manuscript and typewritten copies of "Mankind Must Resolve to Make This the Last War," address by Hu Shih, Chinese ambassador to the United States, undated.

The National Archives has continued to receive large groups of records that constitute major portions of the noncurrent central records of a number of important Federal agencies. Among those in this category are records of the Agricultural Marketing Administration and its predecessors, 1871-1941, the Insolvent National Banks Division of the Bureau of the Comptroller of the Currency, 1890-1940, the Secret Service Division, 1891-1937, the Narcotics Bureau, 1916-39, the National Youth Administration, 1935-41, and the Soil Conservation Service, 1936-40. Similar groups transferred by the War Department consist of records of the Quartermaster General's Office, 1800-1894; the Adjutant General's Office, 1888-1936, including records of the Office of the Chief of Staff, 1903-21, and of some subdivisions of the War Department General Staff, 1917-25; the National

Guard Bureau and predecessor and related offices, 1903-39, including papers relating to state and territorial military organizations, 1825-1903; and the Surgeon General's Office, completing the central records of this office in the National Archives through 1927. Many field service records have also been accessioned lately. Outstanding among these are substantially all the noncurrent records, 1788-1941, of 398 American diplomatic and consular posts located all over the world. Of somewhat the same type are records of the Foreign Agricultural Relations Office, consisting of reports of consular officials, agricultural trade commissioners, and special agents, 1904-38. Records have also been received from several field offices of the Soil Conservation Service. Of note among other accessions are certain records of the White House Office, 1814-1941, including some original executive orders, proclamations, and departmental regulations, 1869-1913, fair copies of letters sent by President Hayes and his secretary, 1877-81, and some registers of nominations, appointments, criminal pardons, and court-martial cases, 1857-1913; Interior Department records relating to the antarctic expedition of 1939-41; and records of the World's Fair Commission, 1937-41. Illustrating the application of the technique of microfilming in the reduction in bulk of large bodies of records of recent date are the microfilm copies of the general correspondence of the Washington, D. C., office of the Home Owners' Loan Corporation, 1933-36, which the National Archives has just received. The photographs of the records on 482 rolls of microfilm occupy only eight cubic feet, whereas the records themselves, which have been destroyed, formerly filled scores of filing cases. A number of additions to the file microcopies of the National Archives have been made in the last few months. Among these are reproductions of outgoing letters of the office of the Secretary of War relating to Indian affairs, 1800-24 (6 vols.), the records of the Russian-American Company, 1802-67 (93 vols.), and the territorial papers of the State Department relating to Utah, 1853-73 (2 vols.), Washington, 1854-72 (2 vols.), and Nevada, 1861-64 (1 vol.). Positive prints of these reproductions are available at cost to anyone interested. In response to administrative needs of certain war agencies, a special list of material in the National Archives entitled *Records of the Bureau of Insular Affairs Relating to the Philippine Islands, 1898-1935; A List of Selected Files* (pp. xii, 91) has been issued. This list, compiled by Kenneth Munden, is designed to serve as a guide to the contents of the main administrative and informational files of the Bureau insofar as they relate to the Philippines.

The Archivist of the United States announced the appointment to the staff of the National Archives of Jesse E. Boell, formerly state supervisor of the Wisconsin Survey of Federal Archives and Historical Records Survey and more recently of the Office of Price Administration; Forrest L. Poor, formerly of the history and economics faculty of Williams Junior College (California); Guy A. Lee, of the history faculty of Clark University; and James R. Masterson, of the English faculty of Hillsdale College (Michigan). Other personnel changes include the resignation of Ralph G. Lounsbury and the transfer of Everett Owen Alldredge

and Edwin Page Bledsoe for war work in other agencies. Among members of the staff who have recently entered the armed services are Paul L. Bishop, Collas G. Harris, Arthur E. Kimberly, Frank D. McAlister, Thornton W. Mitchell, and John F. Simmons.

Papers recently transferred to the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park, New York, by the President include White House files of correspondence, memoranda, reports, and other materials relating to the operation of the executive departments and agencies for the period 1933-40. The papers cover virtually every phase of their activities, including the appointment of officials, the planning and organization of functions, the allocation of appropriations, the determination of policy, and the conduct of relations with other agencies, with Congress, and with the public. Other official papers received include correspondence of government officials and private persons with the White House on matters of policy and law affecting private enterprises such as the railroads and utilities, and letters from veteran and youth organizations urging legislation in their interest. The President has also given the Library a file of correspondence and other papers relating to his career as New York State senator for the period 1911-13. This material includes correspondence on the preparation and enactment of legislation, letters to and from constituents in connection with Mr. Roosevelt's stand on various issues, and letters concerning the national political situation in 1912. Jeremiah Milbank, formerly acting chairman of the President's Birthday Ball Commission for Infantile Paralysis Research, has given the Library a selected group of reports and letters from the working files of the commission covering its activities from 1934, when it was organized, to 1937, when its work was taken over by the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis. Director Fred W. Shipman has been appointed a representative of the Committee on Records of War Administration and in the future will divide his time between Hyde Park and Washington.

The Library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin at Madison continues to remain the largest of any historical society in America. During the year ending September 30, 1942, it has added 9,163 books, pamphlets, and volumes of newspapers to its collections so that they now total 669,198 titles.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has acquired the papers of William Jones (died 1831). The collection, comprising more than one thousand items and including letters and papers from numerous statesmen and commercial leaders of the period, is of particular pertinence for "the era of the nation's first great economic entrepreneurs."

The Haverford College Library announces the addition to its microfilm collection of a positive film copy of the card catalogue of the Friends Library in London. This catalogue, listing books, pamphlets, manuscripts, pictures, and maps, contains 85,000 cards and was microfilmed in the summer of 1942 for safety's sake after the bombing of Friends House in the spring.

The American Society of Archivists and the American Association for State and Local History held their annual meetings in Richmond, Virginia, October 26-28. It was the sixth annual meeting for the archivist and the second for the state and local historians. The first two days were given to the program of the archivists, with a joint dinner meeting Tuesday evening opening the meeting of the historical societies, which continued the next day. The dinner was presided over by Dr. Solon J. Buck, National Archivist, and the chief speaker, Dr. C. C. Crittenden of the North Carolina Historical Commission, gave his address as president of the American Association for State and Local History. The attendance was gratifying and came from points as distant as Texas, Nebraska, and Iowa. By general agreement the sessions were very successful in that the speakers dealt concretely with present-day professional tasks and problems, and the discussions were realistic. The officers for next year in the American Society of Archivists are R. D. W. Connor, University of North Carolina, president; and Lester J. Cappon, University of Virginia, secretary. Those for the American Association for State and Local History are Edward P. Alexander, Wisconsin State Historical Society, president; and Miss Elizabeth B. Drewry, the National Archives, secretary. It should be a source of satisfaction to the American Historical Association that these two affiliated societies growing out of its earlier interest and committees in the two fields are doing such worth-while work. They are definite evidence of the rise in America of two new professions each with an increasing body of special knowledge and definite professional requirements involving appropriate training.

The North Carolina Historical Commission has launched a program for collecting and preserving the records of the state's part in the present war. An arrangement has been made with the State Office of Civilian Defense whereby local collectors of war records have been appointed in various counties, under the Civilian Defense Citizens' Corps.

On August 27 and 28, Stanford University was host to a conference of teachers of American history in the universities and four-year colleges of California. A total of thirty-seven delegates were in attendance, representing nineteen of the twenty institutions to which invitations were extended. The conference was in part a response to the recent survey of the *New York Times* as to the place of United States history in the college curriculum; in part the result of a desire to examine the problem in the light of the existing emergency; and in part an attempt to keep action in the hands of qualified experts. There were no formal papers, and the discussion was actively participated in by all or virtually all of the delegates. One session was devoted to the subject matter and objectives of courses in American history, with special reference to liberal education, professional training, and possible required courses. Another session was devoted to the content of a comprehensive course in United States history, with some attention to the relative emphasis on political, social, economic, and cultural factors. At the con-

clusion of the discussion the conference voted to recommend the establishment of a required survey course in American history in all California four-year colleges and universities.

The State Historical Society of Missouri has announced the acquisition of the J. Christian Bay Collection of Western Americana. The collection numbers 2,902 historical volumes, manuscripts, maps, and other select items. Many of the pieces are exceedingly rare. The material is now housed in the University of Missouri Library.

At its meeting in New York, November 28, the National Council for the Social Studies considered a report submitted by Dr. Howard E. Wilson as chairman of its Commission on Wartime Policy. The report summarizes the increased responsibilities for civic training revealed by the war. It then proceeds to present in concrete terms "a vital program of civic education," which it considers "essential to the morale and efficiency and wisdom of the nation in 1943 and in the years that are to follow." The report is directed both to teachers of the social studies and to school administrators. The program has been printed as a pamphlet under the title *The Social Studies Mobilize for Victory*. Single copies at 10¢ each (with reduced prices for quantities) may be obtained by addressing the Executive Secretary, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

The Committee on Control of Social Data of the Social Science Research Council has accepted the report of Lester J. Cappon, University of Virginia, on the collection and preservation of historical materials of World War II. The Research Council plans to publish the report.

The recently organized Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America has issued No. 1, Vol. I, of its *Bulletin*, containing the proceedings of the Institute's first session and the steps leading to the organization of the Institute. The one considerable paper is by Jan Kucharzewski: "The Polish Cause in the Frankfurt Parliament of 1848."

The Real Academia de Buenas Letras of Barcelona, Spain, announces the terms on which it will award the Marques de Caldas de Montbuy prize. The prize in the amount of 15,000 pesetas will be given for the manuscript of the best piece of original historical research on the subject of *El Humanismo en la Corona de Aragón*. The manuscript should be typewritten in Spanish and in the hands of the secretary of the Academy (calle del Obispo Cassador, núm 3, Barcelona) by December 31, 1943.

Personal

Dr. J. Holland Rose, formerly Vere Harmsworth Professor of Naval History in the University of Cambridge, died on March 3. Born at Bedford in 1855, he was educated at Owens College, Manchester, and Christ's College, Cambridge.

For twenty-five years after leaving the university he spent his time teaching for the University Extension Board and preparing his studies on the Napoleonic era. In 1903 his work received a Cambridge doctorate, and in 1911, when a readership in modern history was created there, he was the first to be appointed to the post. In 1919 he became the first Vere Harmsworth Professor of Naval History. The nature of his chair forced his later work along lines indicated by his little book on *The Mediterranean in the Ancient World* (1933), *Man and the Sea: Stages in Maritime and Human Progress* (1935), and *Lord Hood and the Defence of Toulon* (1922). But the achievements by which he is best known are the fruits of his earlier researches, his *Life of Napoleon I* (1902; eleventh edition, 1935), *Napoleonic Studies* (1904), *Despatches Relating to the Third Coalition* (1904), *William Pitt and National Revival* (1911), *William Pitt and the Great War* (1911), *The Personality of Napoleon* (1912, 1930), and his more general textbooks, *The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era* (1897) and *The Development of the European Nations, 1870-1921* (1923). He was a contributor to the *Cambridge Modern History* and the *Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy*, and as senior editor he did much toward the planning and production of the *Cambridge History of the British Empire*.

Sir Flinders Petrie died in Jerusalem, July 28, at the age of eighty-nine. He was Edwards Professor of Egyptology in University College, London, from 1892 until 1933, when he became emeritus. After several years of archaeological work in England, he began digging in Egypt in 1880, and continued to dig there (except during the first World War) until 1926. In that year his unwillingness to accept new conditions imposed on all excavators by the Egyptian government led him to move to Palestine, where he worked until after the present war began. Possessed of uncommon intellectual, moral, and physical strength, completely devoted to his professional work, and almost completely untrained in scholarly or scientific method, Petrie was not one whose career can be neatly characterized and pigeonholed. Much of his work was hasty, many of his conclusions were ill-considered, and he sometimes maintained his views with what seemed like sheer obstinacy. Probably few Egyptologists today would claim that Petrie was a thoroughly competent scholar; probably none would deny that he was a man of genius. Perhaps Petrie's fame will rest longest and most firmly on the principle of "sequence dating." This archaeological method, created by a flash of Petrie's intellect, has been the unshakable foundation of relative chronology in preliterate Egypt for more than fifty years. By its simplicity, its brilliance, and its objectivity, it epitomizes what all scholars most desire to remember in a very great colleague.

On August 4 the well-known Italian historical writer Guglielmo Ferrero died in Geneva at the age of seventy-one. As much a journalist as a historian, Ferrero wrote prolifically on various aspects of both ancient and modern history, concerning himself chiefly with periods of political revolution. To historians he probably

is best known for his five-volume work on the history of Rome during the collapse of the Republic and the formation of the Principate, published in 1902-07 under the title of *Grandezza e Decadenza di Roma*, which aroused much comment at the time of its appearance and was later translated from Italian into several other languages. His *Ancient Rome and Modern America*, written after a visit to the United States in 1908, attracted great interest in this country. Ferrero's chief contribution to the study of ancient history lies in his emphasis upon its "modernity," although, owing to his deficiency in the critical use of sources, his works fall short of being authoritative. An ardent believer in democratic principles, Ferrero opposed the Fascist movement in Italy and as a punishment was refused permission to leave the country until 1930, when he was allowed to accept the chair of contemporary history at the University of Geneva, a position which he held at the time of his death.

Logan Esarey, professor emeritus of Indiana University, died September 24. From 1913 to 1940 he was an active member of the university's department of history, teaching the history of the Middle West and of Indiana as his particular fields. A number of young men and women from his seminars and other classes now hold positions in high schools, colleges, and universities. When he first became a member of the faculty, he also became the editor of the *Indiana Magazine of History*, which the university had just purchased. From his students came many of the articles which he published in this quarterly. He became, in addition, the secretary of the Indiana Historical Survey and engaged in an extensive program of collecting and publishing. Many of the newspapers and manuscript collections in the university library were secured as a result of his activity. He compiled and edited the *Letters and Papers of William Henry Harrison* (2 vols., *Indiana Historical Collections*, VII and IX, 1922), *Messages and Papers of Jennings, Boon, and Hendricks* (1924). He wrote a two-volume *History of Indiana* (1915, 1918) and shorter accounts on banking and on internal improvements in Indiana. Two lengthy manuscripts remain unpublished—a directory of Indiana newspapers and a work on the Old Northwest. Professor Esarey was a native of Indiana, a product of its schools and state university, where he received his Ph.D. in 1913. He spent his professional life teaching in its schools and institutions of higher learning. He resigned the editorship of the *Indiana Magazine of History* in 1925 and became professor emeritus in 1940.

Charles Moore, treasurer of the American Historical Association from 1917 to 1930, author and editor of numerous historical works, and a leader in the movement for city planning, died on September 25 in the home of his son at Gig Harbor, Washington. He was born in Ypsilanti, Michigan, on October 20, 1855, attended Philips Academy, Andover, graduated from Harvard College in 1878, and engaged in newspaper work in Detroit and Washington, earning the degree of Ph.D. from the George Washington University in 1890. Between 1889 and 1903

he was political secretary to Senator James McMillan of Michigan and clerk to the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia; from 1904 to 1914 he was active in business and banking in Detroit and Boston. In 1915 he was appointed chairman of the National Commission of Fine Arts, of which he was an original member (1910), and thereafter all his activities were devoted to public service, chiefly for the Commission but also for the Library of Congress, where for nine years (1918-1927) he acted as chief of the Division of Manuscripts. His major contribution was to those developments in city planning that had to do with public buildings, monuments, and parks. Through his association with the McMillan and Burnham committees on the development of the city of Washington, and his chairmanship of the National Commission of Fine Arts, he had a leading responsibility in actually carrying through the consistent extension of the L'Enfant plan for the national capital, in meeting the rapidly increasing and changing needs of the twentieth century, and in maintaining the highest standards of beauty and good taste. His most important works were those dealing with the history of architecture and city planning in America: *Daniel H. Burnham, Architect, Planner of Cities* (1921); *Life and Letters of Charles Follen McKim* (1929); and the group of articles in the *Dictionary of American Biography* on Burnham, McMillan, McKim, William R. Mead, Stanford White, and Francis Millet. His first historical work was an edition of the *Gladwin Manuscripts* (1897); others were *The Northwest under Three Flags* (1900), a *History of Michigan* (1915), *The Family Life of George Washington* (1926), and *Washington, Past and Present* (1929). His services were recognized by numerous awards, medals, and degrees, including the French Legion of Honor. Charles Moore was a man of many friendships in the circles of government and in the world of learning and of art. He had distinction of personality and bearing and a youthful appearance which was the outward expression of a youthful and optimistic spirit.

Miss Mary Agnes Best died in New York City, October 13. Miss Best was the author of a popular biography of Thomas Paine and a volume addressed to the non-scholarly world on *Rebel Saints*, giving sketches of significant Quakers, both men and women.

Dr. William Ray Manning, who retired recently after nearly twenty-four years of service in the United States Department of State, died at his home in Washington on October 28 at the age of seventy. Widely known as the editor of the *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States Concerning the Independence of the Latin American Nations* (3 volumes, 1925) and the *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States Concerning Inter-American Affairs, 1831-1860* (12 volumes, 1932-39), Dr. Manning had more recently been engaged in editing four volumes of *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States Concerning Canadian Relations, 1784-1860*, the first two volumes of which have already appeared. Those volumes, together with his Justin Winsor prize study on the Nootka Sound Con-

troversy (1905), his Albert Shaw lectures on relations between the United States and Mexico (1916), and his many articles and reviews, gained for him a distinguished place among scholars in the field of American diplomatic history. After taking his doctoral degree at Chicago, Dr. Manning taught at Purdue, George Washington, and Texas. His long and useful career in the Department of State began in 1918. There he served with distinction in the office concerned with the relations of the United States with the other American nations and worked to build a master index to American treaties. He was respected by his colleagues in the profession and in the Department as one who knew how to make scholarship serve the conduct of public affairs.

Mgr. Joseph M. Gleason, educator and historian, died in Oakland, California, October 30, at the age of seventy-eight. He had twice served as president of the Pacific Coast Branch of this Association and helped found the Academy of Pacific Coast History at the University of California. He was born and educated in California, doing postgraduate work at the state university. He was ordained in 1892 and later studied in Rome and Paris. He served as a chaplain during the Spanish-American War and with the relief expedition at the time of the Boxer Rebellion. While pastor of Thomas Aquinas Church in Palo Alto he lectured in history at Stanford University. He headed the history department of the San Francisco College for Women, which he helped found, and donated to the institution a very considerable library. Last May the Catholic University of America recognized his many services with an honorary degree.

Dr. Elihu Grant, professor emeritus of Biblical literature at Haverford College, died on November 2 at the age of sixty-nine. He had taught at both Smith College and Haverford. His chief interest was the archaeology of Palestine, and he was the leader of the expeditions sent out to that area by Haverford. His discoveries threw light on the past of the Philistines and of all Palestine as well as Egypt. He was the author of *The Peasantry of Palestine* (1907), *The Orient in Bible Times* (1920), and of many volumes reporting the work of the expeditions he headed. Since his retirement in 1938 he had published two volumes, *Palestine Today* and *Palestine, Our Holy Land*.

Gustavus Myers, who was taken ill last August while laboring to complete a history of bigotry in the United States, died December 7 at the age of seventy. Mr. Myers combined an indefatigable industry in amassing data and presenting them effectively in weighty volumes with the ability to write popular articles in magazines. His more serious works, never best sellers, were often reservoirs from which others drew materials for salable books. His total output was extensive. His best-known titles are *History of Public Franchises in New York City*, *History of Tammany Hall*, *History of Great American Fortunes*, and *History of the Supreme Court of the United States*, all titles that recall criticism of their point of view, with grudging acknowledgment of their service in digging up material

hitherto neglected. His one popular book, involving the equivalent in labor of the above volumes, was his defense of his native country in *America Strikes Back*.

Dr. Amelia C. Ford, who was for thirty-one years head of the department of history in Milwaukee-Downer College, died at her home in Searsport, Maine, on December 8. Miss Ford retired in 1939. She was a graduate of Radcliffe College and earned her doctor's degree at the University of Wisconsin.

The five surviving founding members of the American Historical Association at the time of the fiftieth anniversary dinner in Washington in 1934 were Clarence W. Bowen, Davis R. Dewey, Ephraim Emerton, J. Franklin Jameson, and Henry E. Scott. The last named is the only surviving founder, for Davis R. Dewey died December 13 in his eighty-fifth year. Dr. Dewey was also one of the charter members of the American Economic Association, founded the next year, and was its president in 1909. He was managing editor of the *American Economic Review* from 1911 until 1941. Dr. Dewey was distinguished primarily as an economist of very broad interests. He was a worthy exemplar of the scholar and the wise and amiable man. His chief publication in the historical field was a *Financial History of the United States* (1902). He was a member of the staff of Massachusetts Institute of Technology for almost fifty years, retiring as professor emeritus in 1933.

Professor Henry Steele Commager, of Columbia University, has been appointed lecturer in American history at Cambridge University, England, for the winter term. His is the first appointment in American history to be made at Cambridge. In addition to his lectures at the university, Professor Commager plans to broadcast and make addresses for the British ministry of information.

The following appointments are noted: *Wells College*, Catherine E. Boyd, lecturer; *University of Maryland*, Richard Hofstadter, who last year held the William Bayard Cutting Fellowship at Columbia University, assistant professor; *Davis and Elkins College*, Stuart Noblin of the College of Charleston, associate professor.

Announcement is made of the following promotions: *George Washington University*, Howard Maxwell Merriman to be associate professor; *Iowa State College*, John A. Greenlee and Clarence H. Matterson to be assistant professors; *Louisiana Polytechnic Institute*, John E. McGee to be professor; *Rhode Island State College*, Amy Gilbert to be professor; *College of William and Mary*, Bruce T. McCully to be assistant professor.

The following staff members are on leave of absence for service with the armed forces of the United States: *Denison University*, H. A. DeWeerd; *George Washington University*, Howard Maxwell Merriman; *Iowa State College*, Charles

H. Norby; *Minnesota State Historical Society*, Arthur Larsen; *University of Minnesota*, Tom B. Jones; *Rhode Island State College*, J. Richard Jones.

Beverley W. Bond, jr., of the history department of the University of Cincinnati, has recently been elected president of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio.

Dr. Robert C. Smith, of the Library of Congress staff, has been appointed director of the Hispanic Foundation to serve in the absence of Dr. Lewis Hanke, who has undertaken a special assignment for the Division of American Republics, Department of State.

Professor Richard L. Morton, of the College of William and Mary, has a nine-month leave of absence for the purpose of continuing his work on a history of Virginia. Dr. Harold L. Fowler has been appointed acting head of the department during his absence.

Professor William Yale, of the history department of the University of New Hampshire, has joined the staff of the Department of State in Washington.

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MEMBERSHIP, DECEMBER, 1942: 3583. Persons interested in historical studies, whether professionally or otherwise, are invited to membership.

MEETINGS: An annual meeting with a three-day program is held in the last days of each year. Election of officers is by ballot of the membership.

The Association maintains close relations with the state and local historical societies through conferences at the annual meetings. The Pacific Coast Branch holds meetings in December on the Pacific Coast.

PUBLICATIONS: In addition to the *Annual Report*, distributed to members gratis on request, the Association publishes from time to time out of special funds important documentary collections in American political and legal history. Its official organ is the *American Historical Review*, published quarterly and sent to all members. It appoints a proportion of the members of the board of editors of *Social Education*, a journal on the social studies for secondary-school teachers.

PRIZES: The *John H. Dunning Prize* of about \$100, awarded in the even-numbered years for a work in American history.

The *Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Prize* of \$200, awarded in the odd-numbered years for a work in the field of American, including South American, history.

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DUES: There is no initiation fee. Annual dues are \$5.00. Life membership is \$100. All members receive the *American Historical Review* and the annual program.

CORRESPONDENCE: Inquiries should be addressed to the Executive Secretary at Library of Congress Annex, Study Room 274, Washington, D. C.

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